Provincial Cilicia and the Archaeology of Temple Conversion

Volume 1 of 2

Text

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ABSTRACT

This is a study of the Christianisation of the built environment: the physical manifestation of the transition from paganism to Christianity in the Greek East. The core of this thesis comprises an archaeological exploration of temple conversion in terms of structural mechanics, logistics, chronology and socio-political implications.

This work provides a re-assessment of the fate of the temples – their deconsecration, destruction, preservation, abandonment and re-utilisation – by supplementing and questioning the historical record through reference to the wealth of available archaeological evidence. Detailed chapters on the mechanics and chronology of particular forms of conversion scenario illustrate the emergence of an architectural vocabulary of temple conversion from the middle of the 5th century.

In order to assess the impact of change on a local level, these primary issues are addressed through the archaeology of provincial Cilicia. This sheds new light on several well-known temple conversions and raises important questions about those for which the evidence is less conclusive. It is through this kind of regional study that the variability in the fate of temples is realised and increasingly attributed not to the influence of a particular piece of legislation, but to local and regional circumstances and context. Detailed studies of individual sites have also enabled the formulation of a methodological critique for the identification of the sites of temple conversion in their various manifestations: from complete incorporation of the temple remains, to piecemeal appropriation of individual architectural elements.

Archaeological, historical and epigraphical evidence from over 250 structures in which the influence of a pre-existing temple has been detected, have been incorporated into a highly detailed database, providing a platform for information management and the analysis of trends in the fate of the temples. By looking beyond the subjective narratives of the primary historical sources, this thesis demonstrates that the archaeological evidence can provide us with a deeper understanding of the complexity and variability of temple conversion as it occurred in individual urban contexts. This has enabled the formulation of a more coherent picture of its significance and situation in the cultural and physical transformation of the late antique city.

Inscription from Zorava (Jordan), built into church constructed from the remains of a temple (AD 515):

> God has his dwelling where there was once a hostel of demons;
> redeeming light now shines where once darkness spread its veil;
> where once sacrifices were made to idols, angels now dance.

Publications of an American Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900, Part III: Greek and Latin Inscriptions, ed. W. K. Prentice (New York, 1908), no. 437a.
Revised translation by Chuvin (1990, 141).

On a Temple of Fortune turned into a tavern (Palladas, 4th century: translation by T. Harrison (*Palladas: Poems*. London, 1975)):

> **I**
> Agh, the world's gone all to fuck
> when Luck herself's run out of luck!
>
> **Ii**
> Fortune, fortune maker/breaker,
> human nature cocktail-shaker,
>
> goddess once, and now a barmaid
> 's not too drastic change of trade!
>
> You'll do nicely where you are
> behind the counter of *The Fortune Bar*,
>
> metamorphosed to "mine host"
> the character that suits you most.
>
> **Ii**
> Fortune, can you hear them making fun,
> all the mortals, now you're one?
>
> This time you've really gone too far
> blotting out your own bright star.
>
> Once queen of a temple, now you're old
> you serve hot toddies to keep out the cold.
>
> Well you might complain, now even you
> suffer from yourself as mere men do.

Palladas, *Greek Anthology 9. 180.*

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PRESENTATION RATIONALE

This thesis is divided into two volumes (1: text, 2: illustration), to allow the reader to use the text in conjunction with the illustrations. The illustrations themselves are ordered according to the themes in the text and therefore not universally accordingly to the order of cross-references. Where possible and appropriate I have oriented all plans with north to the top of the page, thus purposefully avoiding the unwritten standard for the representation of church plans with the apse end pointing to the right of the page. This is essentially because orientation is a significant element in the conversion of temples into churches and I want the variability in practice to be evident from the plans.

The principal graphs from the database are included with the illustrations in Volume 2. However, smaller charts from the database are inserted within the text where used to illustrate a specific point and additional reports from the database appear in Appendix 2.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Many people have in one way or another, made their own personal contributions to this work. They know who they are and I thank them. A few deserve special acknowledgment. Stephen Hill's influence, particularly in the early stages of this thesis, has been highly significant. It was Stephen, who hearing of my interest in temple conversion directed me towards Cilicia. His book (1996) was my bible for the study of Cilician churches and his invitation for me to work on the Gough archive also ultimately led me to the Alacami. Jim Crow entirely transformed my undergraduate prospects by introducing me to late antique urbanism. As the supervisor for my Masters Degree and PhD I have benefited significantly from his broad perspectives on historical archaeology and methodology. He gave me the space to explore my own avenues of research, whilst at the same time provided me with opportunities to pursue my other great interest in archaeological surveying, particularly with the Anastasian Wall Project.

To my family, I owe thanks for their understanding and for making me strong enough to complete this work. To Arlene, who unwittingly joined the highly underestimated group of sufferers, the *Widows of Thesis Writers*, I owe my sanity and give my love.

This work is dedicated to my son Tyler: manufactured for optimum work-avoidance.

Part I

Temple Conversion as an Archaeological and Historical Phenomenon

The destruction of Serapeum in Alexandria, as depicted in the Alexandrine Chronicle, showing the Patriarch Theophilus with gospel in hand atop a small burning shrine containing the effigy of Serapis (Bauer, A. and Strzygowski, J. 1906. *Eine Alexandrinische Weltchronik*. Vienna, Plate VII).

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF TEMPLE CONVERSION

The concept of Christianisation embodies a multifaceted social process that underpinned the whole of late antique society, yet from a modern perspective we find it difficult to appreciate fully what it was actually like for an individual to become a Christian in this period.[1] There is a substantial bibliography, from Nock to Macmullen to Holum on the processes or events that actually triggered conversion, yet the diversity apparent from these works reflects the very individual nature of spiritual conversion.[2] The word "Christian" – as the definition of a postclassical cultural identity – functions in modern studies as an umbrella term for a hugely diverse set of motivations and ideologies. People adopted the title for a variety of reasons, yet the cognisance and indoctrination of the belief system only to varying degrees: from the hermit, stylite, bishop and archimandrite to the emperor, civic magistrate or prudent pagan.[3]

The most successful studies of Christianisation are often those that tackle its individual facets, as inclusive components of the whole, in realisation of the fact that its complexity could not be managed in a single work.[4] In contrast, works that have attempted to digest the entire concept have tended to be unwieldy, idealistic or minimalist.[5] Inevitably as the study of Christianisation through historical sources comes to a saturation point, the potential for archaeological investigation flourishes.[6]

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[1] Such views are emphasised Nock, in the principal work on religious conversion (1933). Hunt (1993) describes the concept of Christianisation as "a snare, and very probably a delusion as well", although this view has received subsequent disapproval from Holum (1996, 131).

[2] Diversity in the conversion experience is well represented in a useful collection in Maas 2000 (pp. 104-11).

[3] For the individuality of conversion, see Markus 1991 and Brown 1995 (pp. 16-26).

[4] For example Spieser 1976, Gregory 1986, Markus 1991 and Hunt 1993.

[5] While Macmullen's ambitious works have tended towards generalisation and minimalism (Fishwick 1983), Trombley by contrast has been high on detail. The principal publication of the latter (1995a) tends towards generalisation, assumption and confusing narrative, despite an admirable level of very useful detail. Trombley's "experiential" description of a converted temple for example (I, 108-109) is clearly based on the example from Baalbek (unmentioned), i.e. church built in a precinct with the *aedes* preserved. Oddly though the text is written in such a way that implies that all temple conversions were like this one. This is followed by further postulation, in which Trombley states that all converted temples were staffed by a monk or cleric with the specific task of watching individuals who

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This is a study of the Christianisation of the built environment: the physical manifestation of the transformation from the pagan to the Christian city. At the heart of this thesis is the exploration of temple conversion in terms of structural mechanics, logistics, chronology and socio-political implications. As such the approach has two principal objectives. At a fundamental level, a successor to Friedrich Deichmann's catalogue and analysis *Frühchristliche Kirchen in Antiken Heiligtümern* originally published in 1939, is now long overdue. Much new material needs to be incorporated, especially resulting from the welcome arrival of a postclassical conscience on Near Eastern excavations in recent years. Archaeological, historical and epigraphical evidence from over 250 structures in which the influence of a pre-existing temple has been detected have therefore been incorporated into a highly detailed database (Appendix 2). This has not only served as an efficient data management tool for this thesis but has also enabled me to investigate statistical and spatial patterning in the finer details of the mechanics and chronology of temple conversions.

However, every coin needs stratigraphy to bestow significance and as a result primarily of "armchair" scholarship many discoveries of profound archaeological significance have become so far removed from their original setting as to make them virtually isolated from meaningful context.[7] For this reason my study has a regional basis, which will allow the detailed, contextualised investigation of a small group of temple conversions.[8] The issues of temple conversion will therefore be addressed in the context of the archaeology of Cilicia, where abundant evidence allows the possibility of exploring individual sites within a broader context in order to illustrate regional and intercivic variations in the scenarios of temple conversion. By focussing specifically on a small group of churches, it will make possible a deeper understanding not only of the archaeology of the individual sites, but also of their context and relationships with each other. This study therefore also presents a substantial body of new material on the reported temple conversions of Cilicia, which will for the first time be investigated as a distinct group of churches. One of the most significant outcomes of this study will be an evaluation of the criteria by which archaeologists unravel the details of a pre-existing structure based on the nature of its manifestation within a new building.

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might approach the remains of the temple. These kinds of universal generalisations must be jettisoned at least for the time being, in anticipation of more wide-ranging corroborative evidence.

[6] The principal historical sources for Christianisation can be found in Hillgarth 1986 and Maas 2000.

[7] Annabel Wharton (1995) makes this point strongly in regard to the significance of the archaeology of Dura Europos which went way beyond the art historical narratives propagated by previous scholars

[8] The adoption of "local or regional" approaches to the study Christianisation was described by Hohlfelder as "of paramount importance" (1982, 76).

The initial aim is therefore to examine the fate of pagan temples as represented in the archaeological and historical records. The 4th and 5th centuries saw the virtual eradication of sacrifice and traditional forms of ritual procession from the cities, the closure of the temples and the gradual emergence of a new ritual topography to serve a "Christian" city. Essentially the urban monuments that suffered most in this period were those associated with public pagan worship: the cities' temples and shrines. Yet the archaeological record shows that a church was in no way inevitable as a successor to all pagan temples or other sacred sites.[9] It is moreover apparent that specific circumstances, from regional policies to the social prestige of individuals, played a vital role in the fate of the temples and the supposition of a Christian topography. Many temples were destroyed or simply abandoned and allowed to deteriorate, their ruins becoming a wealthy resource for the increasingly opportunistic builders and lime-burners of late antiquity. Other temples were maintained by urban aristocrats determined to preserve their cultural heritage, especially in ancient strongholds of pagan power and intellectualism like Rome and Athens.

There was also great variation in the degree to which temples were rendered inactive; many were razed entirely to the ground while others were simply deconsecrated through the removal of the cult statues and pagan imagery. Of the temples that were converted to Christian usage many appear to have been abandoned – at least in terms of ritual activity – for some time prior to their re-occupation. I will examine how temples were perceived and how they might have functioned during these periods of apparent desolation: an intermediary phase between the eradication of public paganism and the domination of Christianity within individual cities. Hence we can see that the temple conversion is fundamentally linked to the wider patterns of change on all levels within the city, as it represents the clearest threshold between the pagan past and the Christian future of the city.

The fate of the temples is therefore far from being a monologue narrative. The ancient literature recording such transformations and the archaeology of the places themselves points to an intriguing variety in the long-term fates of pagan temples between different places and in varying circumstances. Central to the issue in question is therefore an explanation of the temple-church in terms of the social and political processes that led to the transformation of the site and the urban religious environment that provided the possibility for it. In order to illuminate these processes and the temple-church phenomenon in tandem we must however assess the established chronology upon which the temple-church debate hangs.

There has been a definite tendency to perpetuate erroneous chronologies and an over-reliance on the Theodosian Law Codes as the primary indicator for the demarcation of chronological thresholds.[10] In

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[9] Milojevič has recorded some 300 temple conversions in the Mediterranean region (1997, 347), although the conclusions of this thesis should lead to a significant reduction of this figure.

[10] For example Pagoulatos 1994.

terms of placing the Theodosian Law Codes into a broader perspective, this study will attempt to respond, at least to a degree, to Salzman's observation: "In order to understand the actual process and history of the conversion of the Roman Empire, one would have to look outside the Code and examine the extant literary, epigraphic and archaeological evidence".[11] While the Theodosian Code cannot simply be jettisoned from a study of this kind, a critique of its validity in this context is provided in Appendix 1.

The apparent variations in the circumstances and structural composition of temple conversions would suggest a lack of a conscious Imperial or ecclesiastical policy towards this phenomenon. Through the analysis of a large number of temple-conversion sites I will attempt to recognise any patterning from which policies, or indeed architectural principals, can be observed (see Fig. 1 for a map of the principal sites mentioned in the text). The origins and influences on the design of early Christian churches have attracted the devotion of many scholars, but little attempt has ever been made to accept the temple conversion as anything more than an architectural curiosity. While the historical sources are quiet, we need to look to the archaeology for signs of patterns and traditions in temple conversion.

This work is largely concerned with the physical evidence and as such the emphasis is strongly focussed on the practicability and historical context of temple conversion. It is beyond my scope to attempt a thorough investigation of the motivations and reasoning for the conversion of temples, an issue that has received a degree of attention in the past.[12] Some have argued that vacant plots were scarce in the city centres, so the land and materials available on a disused temple site made such places ideal for appropriation by the Church, one of few flourishing urban institutions in late antiquity.[13] It is also often suggested that converted temples are somehow indicative of the demise of paganism and an assertion of Christian domination, a symbol of Christian victory. In other contexts the conversion of a temple is interpreted as a means of eradicating the memory of the former occupants and hence provides a method of purifying a polluted site. Elsewhere it is also possible to argue that a converted temple represents an intention to perpetuate the sanctity of a node in the sacred landscape, in order to ascribe the supernatural awe surrounding an ancient monument with the Christian religion, thereby offering a semblance of continuity to encourage conversion and to aid the freshly converted. All of the above explanations find corroborative evidence in different geographical, sociological and chronological contexts. Archaeology can make a valuable contribution to this debate as it allows us to assess the economics of structural conversion against the possible significance of material re-utilisation, both in the building blocks of the converted temple and in a broader phenomenological context. I will not be attempting to resolve these issues directly in this work, but it is hoped that my

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[11] Salzman 1993, 362-3.

[12] For example, Saradi-Mendelovici 1990 and Bayliss 1999a.

[13] For example, Spieser 1976, 311.

conclusions will provide valuable material for their future investigation, particularly regarding the logistics of structural conversion.

It is important to remember that Christianisation did not bring about the death of pagan culture. Those aspects of pagan practice which were popular and which worked were maintained, often beneath a Christian veneer. This appears to be this case for all aspects of society touched by religion, from methods of worship, to the decorative arts, to architecture. To conceptualise this we might imagine the Christianisation process as a kind of "culture filter". It is perhaps most understandable by reference to the emergence of Christian art, in which many pre-existing components were jettisoned and some new ones brought in, but the core essence of the medium was unchanged.[14] Churches, like the temples before them were places of spiritual significance, centres of social interaction and landmarks in the image of the city. In this sense the implications of temple conversions are all pervading. It is an issue that touches almost every aspect of the late antique cultural transformation. To explain the temple conversion in all of its guises is to understand the impulses and reflexes of late antique society. For this reason the focus here remains very much on the monuments themselves: the temples and the churches.

History and Archaeology in Temple Conversion

Historical sources often reveal insights into the motivation, reasoning and background for the conversion of temples into churches, yet with an issue as fundamental and contentious as religion, we cannot expect to find much objectivity, as any investigation of the writings of Eusebius, Julian, Gregory of Nazianzus or Libanius would demonstrate. The sources of the 4th and 5th centuries will inevitably tell us more about the author, his opinions and demeanour, than they will about the means by which a temple was converted into a church, or how the remains of a temple were used following its demolition.[15] Despite this acknowledgement it is clear that much of our framework for understanding the temple conversion is essentially based on "tabloid" incidents of conflict between pagans and Christians as presented in the sources, for example the destruction of the Serapeum in Alexandria, the murder of Hypatia and the publication of the Theodosian Law Code.[16] This is presumably the reason why Robin Lane Fox sees the transition between paganism and Christianity as a "slow process, marked by unforeseen moments of sudden significance".[17] This study seeks to get at the "gradual" and the "diverse" behind the "dramatic", by calling upon the archaeology.

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[14] Brown 1995, 12-13; Kitzinger 1977; Weitzmann and Frazer 1977, 126-98; Cormack 2000, 17-23.

[15] In a recent publication by Macmullen the problems of our over-reliance on these sources is emphasised (1997, esp. 3-5).

[16] See Brown (1995, esp. 4-26, 47-54) and Cameron (1991, 121-3).

[17] Lane Fox 1988, 11.

Where temple conversion is mentioned in the historical sources the structural details are invariably non-specific. It is only through the archaeology that we can elucidate the all-important structural processes of the transformation. In addition the archaeology can reveal aspects of the fate of temples that the historical sources would never tell us. For example at Cyrene, the activities of entrepreneurs were detected by the discovery of a row of limekilns in the vicinity of the Temple of Apollo, which had been destroyed in the latter half of the 4th century.[18]

The use of archaeology in this context is only limited by the relatively fragmentary nature of our existing record.[19] It is only recently that scholars have paid anything other than cursory attention to Byzantine levels on classical sites. Ruggieri and Nethercott's account of the excavation methodology at Perge in Pamphylia could equally apply to many other major sites:[20]

> The excavations carried out at Perge have dealt almost exclusively with Hellenistic and Roman monuments; Byzantine buildings and walls, which are still extant, were of interest either for their monumental dimensions or for the fact that they preserved something older [...] Previous excavations here [on the acropolis] had been conducted on the basis that the famous temple of Artemis would probably have been situated on this spot (Ruggieri and Nethercott 1986, 149).

THE TEMPLE CONVERSION DEBATE

The story of temple conversion has been written primarily as a historical phenomenon. Archaeology has made very little impact on our overall understanding of the processes and implications of the transformation and even less on the established chronologies drawn out from the sources. Christian historians wrote vividly dramatised accounts of pious bishops doing battle with temple demons, and emperors produced overzealous and over-ambitious legislation to coerce pagans into submission and ultimately conversion. Both these categories of culprit have tempered our perspective on the fate of pagan temples that few scholars have endeavoured to readdress.

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[18] Goodchild 1971, 112.

[19] For a general survey see Bouras 1981.

[20] For example Athens, in particular the Asklepeion (Frantz 1965, 194, 201) and other parts of Greece (Spieser 1976). The decipherment of the original conversion undertaken at the "Temple of Concord" at Agrigento has been particularly problematic since the structure was stripped back to its classical form in the late 19th century (Trizzino 1980, 1988).

Freidrich Deichmann produced the first major work on the archaeology of temple conversion in 1939.[21] This was the first attempt to collect together the known temple conversions into a single corpus, presented as a regionally organised catalogue. Deichmann's astute general observations remain today the standard manifesto on the subject, although a general increase in our knowledge base has led to a realisation that the phenomenon was less widely implemented than he supposed. J. Vaes took a more thematic approach with a broader range of material in his discussion on the general practice of building churches from earlier structures and he approached the issue of the temple conversion within the overall framework of building reuse in late antiquity. This successfully revealed the temple conversion as less of a "phenomenon" and more of an "inevitability", although his lists of cited examples are mostly devoid of any chronological or geographical consideration.[22] The most recent general archaeological study of temple conversion has been provided by Milojevič, who expanded upon Vaes' notion of temple-churches as a building type in their own right.[23] A few historians have attempted to address more discrete elements of the debate, the most successful being Fowden's exploration of the role of provincial bishops in bringing about the demise of the temples and Hanson's study on the chronology of temple conversion and destruction.[24]

A number of scholars have tackled the issue on a regional level, an approach that I adhere to with my study of Cilicia. Spieser revealed the rather unique circumstances of the fate of temples in Greece, following on from Alison Frantz's more detailed study of Athens.[25] Ward-Perkins introduced us to the Italian situation through a general study of late antique building practices in the region. Duval and later Teichner and Callot catalogued and discussed the temple conversions of North Africa and Syria.[26] It is through this kind of regional study that the variability in the fate of temples has been realised and increasingly attributed not to the influence of a particular piece of legislation, but to local and regional circumstances and context.

A number of important detailed archaeological studies of temples converted into churches have been carried out, but the elucidation of the postclassical phases of the structures have not always been given due attention. Until recently the focus has been essentially placed on unravelling the art and architecture of the temple as it survived within the church. Krencker and Schede carried out small-

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[21] Deichmann 1939, 1954.

[22] The original long article (Vaes 1986) contains some good illustrations with overlays to display the phases, but the English translation (Vaes 1990) is much abridged and the images compromised.

[23] His observation that "we have no corroboratory archaeological evidence for violent destruction by fire or dismantling" will be questioned in this work (1997, 347).

[24] Fowden 1978; Hanson 1978.

[25] Frantz 1965; Spieser 1976; Gregory 1986.

[26] Ward-Perkins 1984; Duval 1973; Teichner 1996; Callot 1997. The volumes produced by the Princeton explorations remain however the most detailed studies of the Syrian archaeology (Butler 1907, 1920).

scale excavations at the Temple of Rome and Augustus in Ancyra and in a similar tradition, Naumann published his investigations at the Temple of Zeus at Aezani.[27] With the work of Michael Gough at Elaiussa-Sebaste and Otto Feld and Hans Weber at the Corycian Cave, it was apparent that scholars were beginning to give more attention to the Christian components of the temples under study.[28]

More recently scholars have returned to some of these sites to attempt to shed new light on the later periods. A series of articles by Robin Cormack on the conversion of the Temple of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias prompted a reinvestigation of Kenan Erim's excavations on the site by Smith and Ratté.[29] Other temple conversions that have been studied in their own right include the Temple of Philae in the Nile Valley, the Temple of Zeus at Seleucia in Cilicia and an increasing number in the West.[30] With the expansion and diversification of the knowledge-base provided by such studies, archaeological evidence has now adopted a more pivotal role in general works on the Christianisation of the late antique city, as seen particularly in the influential works of Sodini, Dagron and Cameron.[31]

While emphasis in the past has been on the socio-historical implications of temple conversion, increasing attention is now being given to their role in the transformation of ritual space within the late antique city.[32] This approach has emerged from a heightened understanding of the evolution of the city in this period, essentially from archaeological studies. We are now in a position to examine the effects of Christianisation on entire cities as a result of systematic archaeological investigation.[33] The different perspectives on Christianisation afforded from archaeological studies have also led scholars to begin to readdress the motivations and meanings of temple conversion, an approach most successfully implemented in a brilliant study by Helen Saradi, who through an examination of Christian perceptions of pagan monuments and art, was able to present a much more positivist perspective than had previously been achieved.[34]

This thesis attempts to build on the foundations of this existing body of work. It is clearly the recent emphasis on the archaeological contribution to the debate that has provided most new insights and

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[27] Krencker and Schede 1936; Naumann 1979.

[28] Gough, M. R. E. 1954; Feld 1967.

[29] Cormack 1981, 1990a, 1990b; Erim 1986, 54-9; Smith and Ratté 1996, 13-16; 2000. We also await publication of the detailed studies that have been carried out on the churches of Sardis.

[30] Philae: Nautin 1967. Seleucia: Hellenkemper 1995. Examples from the West include studies at Cumae (Christern 1996-7), Stone-by-Faversham (Taylor and Yonge 1981) and the Parthenon (Deichmann 1938-9).

[31] Dagron 1977; Sodini 1993; Cameron 1993.

[32] MacCormack 1990; Wharton 1995; Milojevič 1996; Caseau 1999; Bayliss, R. 1999a.

[33] For example, Scythopolis (Tsafrir and Foerster 1997), Xanthos (Morganstern 1993, 17), Aphrodisias (Cormack 1990a; Bayliss, R. 1999a), Ephesus (Bauer 1996) and Sagalassos (Waelkens 1993b).

[34] Saradi-Mendelovici 1990. See also Trombley's volumes (1995a), which do often draw from the archaeological record, but which are mostly derived from historical and epigraphical evidence.

avenues of investigation. In addition, by focussing on the province of Cilicia this work acknowledges that some of the most illuminating studies have essentially been regionally based.

TERMINOLOGY

Colloquial terms like "christianisation", "paganism", "polytheism" or even "temple-churches" serve merely to temper our interpretation with preconception. Yet inevitably we are lost without a degree of subjective labelling and those that try to avoid it usually end up tied in knots. "Paganism" has long suffered as an umbrella-term for the collective variation in non-Christian cult activity and belief. It is not the purpose of the present study to argue against its use, but I will follow the interpretation suggested by Gregory: that "paganism" refers to the activities associated with cult, not the inherent belief system of the late antique psyche. This study will examine the demise and replacement of the former – the more overt and pubic – not the private beliefs, superstitions and traditions which were, on the whole, merely tempered by the emergence of the Church.[35]

This is the study of the conversion of temples into churches, yet to describe these monuments as temple-churches implies a mutual coexistence of some sort.[36] This is clearly inappropriate and does not suffice to define the superimposition which usually took place or the variety of situations upon which this label is branded. Trombley remains firmly with "temple conversion" which is perhaps the most appropriate term given that we know of relatively few temples were converted into anything other than churches.[37]

It is however necessary for the purpose of this study to create a form of archaeological categorisation, in order to facilitate a certain level of information manageability. Temple conversions will therefore be sub-divided into "direct" and "indirect". A "direct temple conversion" or "temple-church" is a church that preserves some *in situ* remains of a pre-existing temple within its fabric. "Indirect temple conversion" encompasses a whole range of different scenarios, but is essentially a church that in terms of construction, orientation, extent or ground plan was influenced by the non-extant remains of a pre-existing temple. Within this group we find the "Temenos-Church", constructed within the walls of an ancient precinct yet without incorporating any *standing* remains of the *aedes*. A larger sub-group is the

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[35] Gregory 1986, 230; Macmullen 1997. This view is clearly shared by Macmullen (1997, 106-7). See Fowden (1993, 5) on "polytheism".

[36] In this work I use "temple" to refer to a structure designed to hold the image of a god, although the Latin *aedes* in used where specificity is required. This is normally distinguished from the *temenos* (the precinct), a differentiation that was not so apparent originally, but which serves the purpose of this discussion. For a full definition see Stambaugh 1979 (p. 557).

[37] Trombley 1995a, I. 109. Also see Chapter 5 in this work.

"temple-*spolia*-church", constructed from the remains of a pre-existing temple that had first been destroyed or dismantled. In the "*spolia*-church" the origins of the source material for the church are less clear, but evidently derive from an earlier structure. Neither the "temple-*spolia*-church" nor the "*spolia*-church" need necessarily be constructed on the same site as the source structure. Previous scholars have generally overlooked the implications of these distinctions, which are as we shall see, not just structural but also chronological.[38]

These categories are not intended to pre-determine interpretation of the sites in question, but merely serve to facilitate more subjective reasoning. So we can look to temple-churches but less to temple-*spolia*-churches for evidence of more direct continuity between the pagan and Christian occupation. Temple-*spolia*-churches are much more likely to have had a longer period of abandonment between the pagan and the Christian occupation and may also have resulted from the – perhaps violent – demolition of the pre-existing temple. With the temenos-churches we can look for evidence of any coexistence of pagan and Christian worship or veneration within a communal compound. Finally temple-churches are more likely to offer the potential for an assessment of the complexity of the engineering involved in the transformation. In this classification system sufficient numbers of temple conversions would logically be placed into grey areas between the categories, reminding us that this degree of compartmentalisation can only be used as an interpretative medium in the most general sense.

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[38] For example, Saradi-Mendelovici 1990.

CHAPTER 2

THE FATE OF THE TEMPLES

INTRODUCTION

As Christianity spread through all levels of society between the 4th and 6th centuries, the significance of pagan monuments gradually waned. Some were destroyed or dismantled, while others were simply abandoned and left to rot. Many though took on new functions, some temporary and transient, some more permanent, like conversion to churches. This chapter will examine the fate of the temples against a background of social change and imperial legislation that prevailed in this period.[1] This story has been told before, but never specifically from the perspective of the impact of events and processes on the temples themselves and never with such a wide-ranging body of archaeological evidence to draw upon.

The Christian acquisition of the monuments of pagan ritual was driven by three principal and related constituents: legislation, aggression and coercion. Legislation against pagan cult practices began rather tentatively under Constantine and reached its most extreme in the late 4th and early 5th century. In 438 a compilation of such laws was brought together and reissued to the empire as 'De paganis, sacrificiis et templis' in the Law Codes of the emperor Theodosius II.[2] Although this source has created the framework for most studies of the end of paganism its contents are often cited without sufficient recognition of its limitations. For this reason a discussion on the relevance of the source for providing a chronology of the demise or re-utilisation of pagan temples is provided in Appendix 1.

A wealth of historical literature from late antiquity presents with clarity an ongoing struggle between pagans and Christians. Christian writers from Eusebius onwards record the intervention of Christian Imperial sanction, the social power of the ecclesiastical authorities and the rise of popular Christian protest. The pagan sources reflect an equally dramatic situation, but by the later part of the 4th century these are written from the perspective of the defeated, like Libanius' pleadings for the safety of pagans and their temples in the 380s.[3] It is unfortunate however that the historical sources tend to focus on the "tabloid" instances of temple destruction and reveal little of the more prosaic means by which temples

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[1] The principal sources: Kaegi 1966; Geffcken 1978; Chuvin 1990. The most recent commentary is Brown 1998.

[2] Pharr 1952.

[3] Libanius, *Or.* XXX.

were acquired and transformed by Christians. By calling on the archaeological evidence over a wide geographical area, I will attempt to discover the material substance beyond the headlines: to understand the various scenarios by which temples could be closed, deconsecrated, preserved and rebuilt, destroyed or appropriated.

THE LAST DAYS OF THE TEMPLES

Constantine's Appropriation of Holy Places

In the military colonia of Aelia Capitolina (Jerusalem) Constantine executed the first recorded temple destruction for the purpose of constructing a church and justified the act in terms of a restoration of Christian property.[4] Christian historians alleged that Hadrian had constructed a temple of Aphrodite on Golgotha, the site of the crucifixion, in order to suppress Jewish-Christian veneration at the site.[5] Constantine was then able to legitimately destroy the temple, to reclaim the property, and as if to verify the Christian right to the land, fragments of the True Cross were allegedly unearthed beneath the temple foundations. The Imperial order for this work clearly expresses the intention to expel the demonic spirits from the hallowed Christian ground and upon this land the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was completed in 335. Certainly the unique opportunity provided by the alleged site of Golgotha enabled Constantine to undertake an act virtually unthinkable in any other municipal centre at this time, to build a Cathedral in the very heart of a city. Unlike many later conversions however the temple was removed in its entirety, which facilitated the discovery not only of the True Cross, but also the reputed tomb of Christ. The influence of the Christian activity at this site on later perceptions of temples is significant. It set the precedent for generations of Christians who would see temples as the retreats of demons and understand the only possible cause of action to be total destruction (see below. 45ff).

Using the same vocabulary of restoration, other sites of Christian significance were acquired by Constantine in the Holy Land for the purposes of constructing churches.[6] All were places of scriptural relevance to Christians and most had been "polluted" by pagan shrines. At the sacred oak and spring at Mambre, a site venerated and occupied by both Jews and pagans alike, Constantine apparently ordered the burning the idols, the destruction of the altar and erection of a church, on the recommendation of his mother-in-law.[7] The archaeology of the site however demonstrates, that Constantine's church was

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[4] Eusebius, *Vita Const.* III 26-9; Taylor 1993, 93; Trombley 1995a, 112-4.

[5] See Taylor 1993 (pp. 113-142) and the important review of Markus (1994).

[6] On the development of a Christian topography in the Holy Land, see Taylor 1993 (esp. ch. 13).

[7] Eusebius *Vita Const.* III 51-3; Mader 1957; Armstrong 1967, 95-6; Chuvin 1990, 32; Taylor 1993, 82-95.

probably a less confrontational affair than the Holy Sepulchre, and along with its attendant buildings only occupied a peripheral sector of the precinct, the fabric of which was left unhindered.

Constantine and his successors issued many laws aimed at the abolition of sacrifice from both public and private spheres of urban life.[8] The occurrence of blood sacrifice subsequent to its abolition in the mid-4th century was undoubtedly the critical factor in the long-term fate of many temples.[9] However, under Constantine and for the first decade or so of the reigns of his sons, most of the temples remained open for the official pagan ceremonies and for the more socially acceptable activities of libation and offering of incense.[10] Under Constantine, we see the policies of subsequent emperors towards the temples beginning to take shape. Despite the polemic of Eusebius however, Constantine's principal contribution to the downfall of the temples lay quite simply in his neglect of them, an impression that we gain most clearly from his development of Constantinople.[11]

Toleration and denunciation between Constantine and Theodosius I

While the temples remained open, they continued to present a lure to potential sacrificial ceremonies and it is chiefly from the middle of the 4th century that temples themselves are targeted in the laws, under the harsher legislation of Constantine's sons. In 341, the abolition of public sacrifice appears in the Code for the first time and the first law ordering the closure of temples was issued in 346.[12] With this, anti-pagan legislation moved to a new level:

> It is Our pleasure that the temples shall be immediately closed in all places and cities, and access to them forbidden, so as to deny all abandoned men the opportunity to commit sin (*Cod. Theod.* XVI 10.4).

Although Libanius refers to the destruction of temples at this time, Bury dismisses Constantius' law as one which could only be observed "here and there [...] Its execution depended on local circumstances, and on the sentiments of the provincial governors".[13] His statement would seem to be based on the reasonable assumption that this imperial demand could never realistically have been imposed within a society that still contained a strong pagan element, particularly within the imperial machinery itself (See Appendix 1). It is only by the occasional subsequent references to closed temples that it is

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[8] For example *Cod. Theod.* IX 16, 1-3; XVI.10.1. On the nature and context of pagan sacrifice see Stambaugh 1979 (pp. 576-8). On the problem of historical interpretation of Constantinian legislation against sacrifice, see the important works of Barnes (1981; 1984) and the critique by Drake (1982), in addition to the more recent discussions of Bradbury (1994; 1995).

[9] Plenty of examples survive in the historical sources that indicate its continuation; see Barb 1963 and Macmullen 1997, pp. 42-5, 135-6. For a measured perspective on pagan sacrifice after the 4th century see Harl 1990.

[10] Chuvin 1990, 36.

[11] Dagron 1974; Julian, *Or.* VII. 228bc; Geffcken 1978, 117-20.

[12] *Cod. Theod.* XVI 10, 2; Chuvin 1990, 38-41.

[13] Libanius, *Or.* I. 27, XVIII. 114-5, LXII. 8; Bury 1958, 367.

possible to judge the efficacy of such legislation. In the history of the fate of a temple, the blocking of its doorway was a temporary phase before it moved to another state, either through dismantlement or conversion. Archaeologically it is therefore rarely detectable. Whether the law was implemented or not, the repetition of legislation against sacrifice by subsequent emperors indicated that pagan rituals were still taking place. Towards the end of Constantius' reign, in 356, the performance of sacrificial rites and the worship of idols finally became punishable as a capital offence.[14]

This severity was soon discarded with the encouragement of public sacrifice by the emperor Julian and the tolerance for its continuation under Valens (364-78) and Valentinian I (364-75).[15] Julian is portrayed as a restorer of temples, but at the same time he tried to undermine the Orthodox Church by ordering the construction of churches for Christian "heretical" sects and even by destroying churches.[16] While his pro-pagan activities are recorded with clarity by his own letters and in other contemporary sources, he failed to have a significantly convincing impact on the archaeological record, despite the best efforts of some archaeologists. I will provide more illustration on this later, in my investigation of temple preservation (see below, p. 40ff).

After the opposing spiritual dispositions of Constantius II and Julian, whose policies arose more out of personal conviction than socio-political acumen, the position adopted by Valentinian I and Valens in the subsequent decade was perhaps more in tune with a society of mixed beliefs. Ammianus Marcellinus described the reign of Valentinian as one "distinguished for religious tolerance[...]He took a neutral position between opposing faiths, and never troubled anyone by ordering him to adopt this or that mode of worship [...] [he] left the various cults undisturbed as he found them".[17] This apparently sympathetic stance is corroborated by the absence of any anti-pagan legislation in the Theodosian Law Codes from this era.[18]

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[14] *Cod. Theod.* XVI 10, 6.

[15] Chuvin 1990, 43-53; Zosimus, *Nea Hist.* IV, 3. See Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* IV, 21, on Valens' concessions to the Antiochene pagans. Libanius however asserted that Valens and Valentinian abolished sacrifices and permitted only the burning of incense, in a law not apparently recorded in the Code (Libanius, *Or.* XXX. 8).

[16] Julian, *Ep.* passim; Amm. Marc. XXII. 5. 2; Libanius, *Or.* XVIII. 23. 6; Browning 1975; Geffcken 1978, 136-58; Bowersock 1978; Hunt 1998b.

[17] Amm. Marc. XXX. 9.

[18] Valentinian did revoke some of the privileges afforded to the pagans by Julian, but this was primarily to restore the equilibrium (Chuvin 1990, 48). This toleration however does not appear to have extended to heresies within the Christian faith itself, as witness *Cod. Theod.* XVI 5, 3-4.

The House of Theodosius and the end of public paganism

Under the Theodosian dynasty, legislation against paganism was brought back on course and the hard line against pagan cult practice established by Constantius II was reinstated. Although the reign of Gratian (367-83) is presented in the historical sources as a period of renewed persecution against pagans, only after the death of Valens and the ascension of Theodosius (379-95) does this situation emerge in the Law Codes, albeit merely as a reiteration of legislation against sacrifice, particularly for the purposes of the *haruspices.*[19] As under Constantine, all other uses of temples could effectively continue and the buildings themselves were still preserved by law.

Punishments do not again reach the severity of those of Constantius until the early 390s, after Gratian and Valentinian II had been succeeded by Arcadius (383) and Honorius (392).[20] Sweeping legislation was then issued, banning private as well as public sacrifice. From 392 it was forbidden to enter a temple or to approach a shrine and any form of sacrifice to images was a treasonable offence. In addition, the more prosaic forms of offering were punishable with the confiscation of private property and landholdings to the fisc.[21] Such crimes included the burning of incense before idols, tying fillets to a sacred tree, constructing an altar from turf, or offering any gift however humble, to an image of a pagan god.[22] Although not specifically ordered, the closure of the temples is inferred. Chuvin has argued that the reason for this sudden departure from toleration was that Theodosius has come increasingly under the influence of the bishop Ambrose, for whom he was now serving his penance after the massacre at Thessalonica, yet the revolt of the pagans Arbogast and Eugenius undoubtedly also played a part.[23]

It is often argued that Theodosius I commissioned Maternus Cynegius, the notoriously zealous Praetorian Prefect of Oriens (AD 384-8), with the task of closing those temples in Oriens and Aegyptus that continued to act as the focus of idolatrous sacrifice.[24] However, the law from which this assumption arose actually merely commands Cynegius to order the cessation of sacrifice in the eastern provinces.[25] It is clear from later sources however that Cynegius took this aspect of his responsibility

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[19] *Cod. Theod.* XVI 10, 7; by which one "*may obtain the hope of a vain promise, or, what is worse, he may learn the future by accursed consultation*". *Cod. Theod.* XVI 10, 9.

[20] *Cod. Theod.* XVI 10, 10-12.

[21] *Cod. Theod.* XVI 10, 12.

[22] By a law of 451 the following could be added to this list of "don'ts": adorning temple doors with garlands or pouring out libations to the gods.

[23] Croke and Harries 1982; Chuvin 1990, 63-5, 69-72; McLynn 1999.

[24] Bury 1958, 368; Gassowska 1982; Macmullen 1984, 98; Zosimus, *Nea Hist.* IV, 36-7; Libanius, *Or.* XXX, 8; Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* V, 21.

[25] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. 10. 9.

much more seriously. This is the period when the persecution of pagans and their temples was undoubtedly at its peak.[26] The destruction of the Temple of Zeus Marnas at Gaza, Zeus at Apamea, the murder of the philosopher Hypatia and the terrible destruction of the Serapeum at Alexandria all took place at the end of the 4th century or in the very early years of the 5th century.[27] The closing years of the 4th century also saw the removal of privileges to civic priests and in 399 an order to demolish rural temples.[28]

By 408 the policy regarding the worship of images in temples was well established. Any idol that became – or remained as – the subject of some form of veneration should be forcibly removed from its setting.[29] In addition it was required that all altars be destroyed and proprietors were charged with this responsibility. If the legislation is followed then we must assume that the vast majority of public sacrifice had ceased by the end of the 4th century. This effectively stripped the temples of an important reason for their existence.

Other temple functions were also systematically abolished during the 4th century. Oracles appear to have been targeted and disturbed at a relatively early date in the 4th century, primarily because their role was similar to that of the *haruspex,* and their skill one of divination.[30] Caesar Gallus, while residing in Antioch, ordered the translation of the relics of a local martyr Babylas to the Shrine of Apollo at the infamous pagan playground of Daphne, thus silencing the incumbent oracle.[31] Julian received the final, profound and disheartened offering of the Oracle at Delphi and also ordered the firing of churches ("houses of prayer") reputed to be sheltering martyrial relics near the celebrated oracular temple of Apollo in Didyma.[32] By the end of the 4th century however the survival of an

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[26] Momigliano 1963.

[27] Gaza: Geffcken 1978, 235-6; Macmullen 1984, 158; Van Dam 1985; Trombley 1995a, I. 187-245. Serapeum: Chuvin 1990, 65-90; Trombley 1995a, I. 129-45. Hypatia: Trombley 1995a (pp. I. 32-3); Macmullen 1997 (pp. 15-16); *The Life of Olympias* II. 5, quoted in Maas 2000 (pp. 220-1).

[28] *Cod. Theod.* XVI 10, 14; XVI 10, 16.

[29] The practice of idol destruction that this law appears to encourage is discussed by Macmullen (1997, pp. 52-3).

[30] For a general discussion on the role of the oracles see Lane Fox 1988 (pp. 168-200).

[31] Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* V, 19-20; Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* III. 18; Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* III, 6; III, 21; Julian, *Ep.* 29; Amm. Marc. 22. 13. 1-3; Procopius, *De Aedif.* V. 9, 19; Gregory Nazianzus, *Or.* 5. 9; Deichmann 1939, 116; Bowersock 1978, 93-9. Also note the comments of Matthews (1989, 439-41) on the omissions and apparent inconsistencies within Ammianus' narrative of this event.

[32] Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* V, 20; Fontenrose 1988, 22-5. This last action was admittedly in the wake of the emperor's failure to restore the oracle of Daphne, which was defeated (by proximity and then by fire) by the martyr Babylas. For the oracle of Delphi in late antiquity see Bowersock 1978 (p. 93) and Chuvin 1990 (pp. 46-7), although Spieser suggested that the oracle referred to in this proclamation was rather that of Daphne (1976, 316, ft. 34). Gregory also argues for the survival (or perhaps even increasing popularity) of the oracle at Delos into the 5th century despite the apparent desolation of the city (1983b, 290-1; 1983a).

oracle was enough to enrage the Bishop of Gaza and send him across the Mediterranean to petition the emperor for its removal.[33]

In addition to restricting the possible uses of temples, the estates were also gradually made less favourable as sources of revenue for their owners, following Constantine's removal of state funding for pagan celebrations outside Rome.[34] Despite the skilfully articulated plea of Symmachus, in 382 Gratian finally diverted the traditional public financial subsidies away from the support of the Rome's cults and was apparently also the first emperor to refuse the title of *Pontifex Maximus*, thereby severing a major connection between the state and pagan cult.[35] Later, Arcadius, Honorius and Theodosius confiscated entirely the revenue from taxes made by the temple custodians, a law that appears to have been implemented widely.[36] Thus the maintenance of temples became the sole responsibility of the curiales themselves, along with all the other buildings they were required to maintain.

Urban ritual procession and ceremony, a vital aspect of urban communality and unity, was also gradually stripped of support and funding during the 4th century. Yet despite protests against their occasional lewdness, processions and ceremonies were not considered potentially polluting so long as they were no longer associated with any form of sacrifice.[37] Rather than being removed outright though, many festivals were secularised and incorporated into a developing Christian calendar, often with little alteration to the composition of the celebrations.[38] We can imagine however that this secularisation stripped away the meaning of many festivals, some of which had already severely declined in popularity by the end of 3rd century.[39]

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[33] Mark the Deacon, *Vita Porphyrii*, 26; Holum 1982, 54-6. See Macmullen's (1984, 158) critique on the authenticity of *The Life of Porphyrius of Gaza*, which we should remember is a hagiographical text.

[34] On the wealth of temple estates see Lane Fox 1988 (pp. 76-7). On the means of funding for temple maintenance and sacrifices, and its decline in late antiquity see Jones 1940 (pp. 227-35) and Bradbury 1995 (pp. 347-355).

[35] Bury 1958; Geffcken 1978, 66-8; Croke and Harries 1982, 37-8; Symmachus, *Relatio* 3; Ambrose, *Ep.* 17-18 (P.L. xvi. 961 & 971); Chuvin 1990.

[36] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. 10. 19-20.

[37] On sacrifice and festivals, see Stambaugh 1979 (pp. 576-9).

[38] MacCormack 1981; Baldovin 1987; Chuvin 1990, 71-2, 79-80; Markus 1991, 101-4; Mathews 1993, 150-67; Salzman 1990, 1999.

[39] When Julian arrived at Antioch the famous ancient Adonia festival was apparently in full swing although the celebrations appear to have involved general merriment rather than ritual (Amm. Marc. 22. 9. 15). The perceived "innocence" of festivals in relation to issues of religion is highlighted by Brown (1995, 12). For other examples, see Macmullen 1997 (pp. 36-42) and Geffcken 1978 (pp. 25-85). The classic example is that of the Maiouma festival at Gerasa, which remained popular until officially banned until 399 (Browning 1982, 211; Trombley 1995a, II. 55). Therefore, at the end of the 4th century, a city that had probably already experienced a temple destruction and the construction of a church in its place, was still also alive with pagan procession and celebration.

Although based entirely on textual sources, Walter Kaegi's assessment of the condition of Byzantine paganism in the 5th century remains the standard exposition for this period.[40] He suggested that the number of people still considering themselves to be pagans by this time was some 10-30% of the population, distributed throughout all the major regions of the empire.[41] Yet the traditionalism, obstinacy and inertia that had prolonged the survival of paganism were an inadequate basis for its continued existence in the long-term. Pagans rarely held positions of authority and while there is little evidence for Christians converting to paganism, there are lots of recorded cases of pagans going in the other direction. Kaegi depicts a world in which paganism had stagnated as it failed to challenge the emergence of Christianity and moreover, had failed to adjust successfully to its less favourable position. Yet those who remained devoted the longest were the hard-core traditionalists who proved much more difficult to convert, and they existed in sufficient numbers to preserve a broad spectrum of pagan practice into the 6th century and even beyond in some places. Remoteness was however the principal means of survival, as it allowed paganism to persevere as a community force.[42]

The 5th century saw the competition between paganism and Christianity move from the streets to the written word, as educated traditionalists attempted to defend their indefensible positions. By the middle of the century, even the eldest members of a community might not remember the public practice of paganism and most would know neither what pagan cult involved, nor understand the nature and attributes of the pagan gods. Their comprehension would have been "distorted and sensationalized" by their Christian peers.[43]

TEMPLE DECONSECRATION

The notion that sanctity could somehow be removed from a temple was not widely held in antiquity. Once temples were dedicated, desacralisation rarely occurred.[44] The closure and desacralisation of temples was therefore essentially a new phenomenon in late antiquity.

The cases of Golgotha and Mambre reveal very different attitudes towards the deconsecration of a pagan site. For Golgotha nothing short of the absolute annihilation of the pagan edifice would seem to suffice. Even after the temple had been cast down, Eusebius makes clear the perceived inherent evil within the rubble, as well as the earth upon which it was built:

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[40] Kaegi 1966.

[41] Although he acknowledges the lack of statistics from which to make such approximations (Kaegi 1966, 245-9).

[42] See for example Trombley's studies of rural Anatolia, Greece and Syria (1985 and 1995b).

[43] Kaegi 1966, 253.

[44] Caseau 1999.

> he [Constantine] gave further orders that the materials of what was thus destroyed, both stone and timber, should be removed and thrown as far from the spot as possible; and this command also was speedily executed. The emperor, however, was not satisfied with having proceeded thus far: once more, fired with holy ardour, he directed that the ground itself should be dug up to a considerable depth, and the soil which had been polluted by the foul impurities of demon worship transported to a far distant place (*Vita Const.* III. 27).

Constantine's severity in this respect appears somewhat over-inflated compared to his religious policy in other contexts and probably reflects exaggeration on the part of Eusebius. For example, according to Malalas there were still at least three intact temples in around 380 on the acropolis overlooking the Great Palace in Constantinople.[45] A more moderate attitude is also conveyed in Eusebius' account of Constantine's interventions at the site of Mambre. Here purification by the removal of cult idols was enough to deconsecrate the site, thus permitting Christians to effectively occupy an existing cult centre and perpetuate its cult focus. At this early stage then we can already form a distinction between the destruction of a pagan site for replacement by a Christian focus and the Christianisation of pagan sanctuaries.

It has been widely accepted that the construction of a church on a temple site was itself a means of spiritual cleansing. Eusebius' definition of a church as an "unpolluted structure" is perhaps a reflection of this and Fowden describes the planned construction of a church on the site of the razed Serapeum in Alexandria as "a method of neutralising the divine powers inherent in polytheistic holy places that was to become increasingly common".[46] From the historical sources, it would however appear that a form of deconsecration was required *before* a church was constructed. Constantine cleansed a temple in Constantinople of its idols long before a church to St Menas was constructed on the site.[47] Before George of Alexandria could build a church on the site of a disused mithraeum, the pagan building first had to be ritually cleansed.[48]

Trombley has brought together a series of historical accounts of temple destruction in an attempt to define a standard liturgy of deconsecration.[49] The bishop might let forth a series of "One God" acclamations, whilst warding off evil spirits by brandishing a cross at the pagan statues, which were then smashed or at least mutilated. The stones of the temple might then have been incised with a variety of Christian symbols, and some temples might have been ruined with fire. Whilst we cannot apply this *standard* across the board, the deconsecration process certainly appears to have involved the removal of icons and imagery from the interior of the temple and the removal of specifically "pagan"

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[45] Theodosius found new uses for these structures (Malalas, 345).

[46] *Vita Const.* III 53; Fowden 1998, 551. Also see Saradi-Mendelovici 1990, 54.

[47] Dagron 1974, 376; Hanson 1978, 260.

[48] Socrates, *Hist. Ecc.* III, 2.

[49] Trombley 1995a, I. 245.

sculpture and relief from the built elements of the structure itself. For example, only the reliefs of Castor and Pollox were removed from the pediment of their temple in Naples when it was converted into a church.[50] More famously, the Parthenon frieze was preserved after the Christian conversion of the temple, although in modified form.[51] Occasionally imagery was simply obscured rather than removed outright, as may have been the case at the Temple of Isis at Philae, the interior of which was whitewashed to obscure the pagan frescoes.[52]

It is certainly significant that the portable objects considered to carry the most pagan symbolism were also the most valuable. By stripping the temples of pagan imagery, the deconsecrators were also acquiring a substantial amount of wealth, much of which was melted down and recycled as new "Christian" artefacts.[53] A number of early Christian emperors are reputed to have plundered temples of their greatest treasures to decorate Constantinople.[54] The ambiguity of the imagery once removed from the temples is revealed by Eusebius, who in regard to Constantine's acquisitions describes Constantinople as being "filled with brazen statues of the most exquisite workmanship".[55] Even in Rome, long before the end of the 4th century, the Urban Prefect was able to remove statues from temples to adorn the newly restored Basilica Julia.[56]

Many temples appear to have been abandoned for some time before their conversion to churches, the implications of which will be discussed in Chapter 5. In the context of the present discussion however, it is worth noting that such sites, which might have remained desolate and untended for many years, may not have required the same attention to deconsecration as those purified in the tension of the 4th century. In the early 5th century, Paulinus of Nola describes deserted temples in Rome (albeit still containing cult images) and at the same time reveals that it was conceivable for temple demons to abandon their shrines merely at the sound of Christian chanting.[57] This is a stark contrast with the Eusebian conception that cleansing could only result from annihilation.

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[50] Vaes 1986, 328.

[51] Deichmann 1975.

[52] For Philae, see Nautin 1967. At Ephesus, a room adjacent to the Temple of Domitian contained a fresco of Demeter obscured by whitewash, although the date of this activity is not known (Foss 1979, 30).

[53] For example, the precious metals and bronze clamps from the Marneion at Gaza (Trombley 1995a, I. 141, 245). In addition, following the desecration of the Temple of Isis at Menouthis, some of the idols were burnt on a bonfire at the site, but not it seems those of value, which were taken to Alexandria (Trombley 1995a, II. 223-4). The 4th century poet Palladas paid considerable attention to the denouncement of this practice (Palladas, *Greek Anthology*, 64-6).

[54] For example Constantine and Theodosius I. Temples were also despoiled by Justinian for the embellishment of Hagia Sophia (Dagron 1974, 375-6; Bury 1958, 370). A comprehensive list of Constantine's acquisitions is provided by Cormack (2000, p. 9, n. 8), with references.

[55] *Vita Const.* III, 54; Mango 1963; Chuvin 1990, 28-30; James 1996.

[56] Lanciani 1988, 128; see another example of statues relocated from "abandoned places" in Ward-Perkins 1984 (p. 33).

[57] Paulinus of Nola, *Poem* 19.53-75, quoted in Maas 2000, pp. 31-2.

At the end of the 4th century, when Prudentius penned the dying prophecy of a 3rd century martyr, he makes clear not only what was required to purify a temple, but also highlights the achievements of Theodosius I as a closer of temples, not a destroyer:

> there shall come an emperor [Theodosius I] [...] to close and bar the temples, lock the ivory doors, destroy the cursed entrance, barring them with bolts of brass. Then at last shall marble shine clean and unstained with blood, the bronzes now seen as idols shall stand purified of guilt (Prudentius, *On the Crowns of the Martyrs* 2.1-20, 413-562, quoted in Maas 2000, pp. 29-31).

According to Prudentius, writing let us remember, when the empire was supposedly heaving with temple-destroyers, the purification of a temple and its contents was assured solely by the prevention of blood sacrifice at the site. The Law Codes from around the same time as Prudentius was writing reflect the same ideology. Temples that were considered to be "empty of illicit things" were to suffer no further damage and idols were only "illicit" if they were still venerated.[58]

If we follow the Law Codes, it would seem that in 435 this situation was to change dramatically. The final enactment of the Code illustrates the accepted measures to be taken in order to purify a temple site. It was declared that any temple or shrine still standing should be destroyed and "purified by the erection of the sign of the venerable Christian religion." (XVI 10.25). This "sign" was probably intended to be a cross, but it is possible that a church could be considered, by the more generous benefactor, to be a symbol of the Christian religion. More on broader implications of this law later. Archaeological evidence of crosses on pagan structures has been widely cited as a direct consequence of this law, for example at Ephesus, Sardis and Philae.[59] The position of crosses, usually adjacent to the temple doorways, appears to highlight their apotropaic function for keeping banished demons from re-entering the structure. Their use in this way may not therefore be part of the actual deconsecration, but a subsequent activity in order to protect the deconsecration. Hence, Rufinus describes how following the destruction of the Serapeum in Alexandria, images of Serapis adorning residences in the city were removed and replaced with crosses.[60]

In principal, the deconsecration of a temple therefore merely required the removal of the cult statue and altar. However, this was often extended to the removal or even destruction of other statues and icons, votive stelae and all other internal imagery and decoration. Such objects were not always

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[58] *Cod. Theod.* XVI, 10, 18.

[59] For the possible replacement of an enormous statue of Artemis at Ephesus with a cross, see Foss 1979 (p. 32). Sardis: Foss 1976, 34, 49. Philae: Nautin 1967.

[60] Rufinus, *Hist. Eccl.* II. 29.

destroyed by zealots or lime-burners.[61] Some were relocated and displayed as works of art.[62] In addition, the chisel could be applied to the more permanent sculptural imagery to accomplish either the defacement or Christianisation of the pagan gods and heroes depicted. These physically detectable means of purification were undoubtedly accompanied (or perhaps preceded) by chanting and ritual purification undertaken by holy men.[63] Once the temple *daimones* had been ejected, their return could be prevented through the uses of crosses and Christian symbols, particularly around the entrances. Temple conversion could also presumably follow *after* the purification rituals and removals. In extreme cases, the purification of the temple was completed either by demolition or through conflagration. This was more than sufficient insurance against the temple ever being put back into operation again.

RESISTANCE AND TEMPLE PRESERVATION

It was a measure of Constantine's perception of his position as the Christian emperor of an essentially pagan world that in addition to destroying temples, he appears to have permitted and even commissioned temple construction during his reign.[64] Most famously he allowed a city in Umbria to construct a temple in honour of the Imperial family.[65] This was the vocabulary by which people communicated their loyalty to the emperor. It was part of a complex system of tutelage that proved difficult to Christianise. Constantine's acceptance of the gift came under the provision that the temple was not to become a place of worship or sacrifice, essentially a temple with no religious function.

Even though fewer temples had been constructed since the heady days of the 2nd century, Constantine's reign did not see the end of temple construction. Evidence for this comes from both historical and archaeological sources. Indeed the dedication of new temples is attested right up until the end of the 4th century, particularly in the East. An inscription on a temple at the village of Bosoa in the eastern Hauran records a rebuild in 387.[66] At Umm el-Jimal, the so-called "Nabatean Temple" and the structure (probably a temple) later incorporated into the "Julianos Church" were probably also

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[61] Although a good example where this did occur is the destruction of the cult statue in the Temple of Allat-Athena at Palmyra (Gassowska 1982). There is however no evidence to suggest that this destruction was extended to the structural fabric of the temple.

[62] Statues of pagan gods found in the baths at Caesarea in Mauritania had been relocated from the city's temples. The names of the gods remained on the bases with the epigram "transferred from sordid place", added to each (Lepelley 1992, 59).

[63] One account, probably from the late 6th century, describes the use of boars, turnips or perhaps rape in the deconsecration of a temple (*Vita San Gregorio*, Lib. Pont. *PG* 98, 709).

[64] For his restoration of temples in Constantinople see Dagron 1974 (p. 374).

[65] Geffcken 1978, 118-9; Chuvin 1990, 31-2; Mango 1985 rev. 1992, 25, 30; *CIL* XI. 2. 1 5265.

[66] Trombley 1995a, I. 37.

constructed in the 4th century.[67] In addition to the construction of new temples, there is also much evidence for their continued maintenance and restoration, for example at Malak es-Sarrar in southern Syria where a temple was remodelled in 376 and at Ephesus a small temple on the Embolos was rebuilt and perhaps secularised, following an earthquake between 383 and 387.[68] An even later date is possible for a restoration of the Parthenon as a temple, prior to its conversion into a church in the mid-5th to 6th century.[69] There was clearly considerable scope for the preservation and continued usage of temples even at the end of the century, as was the case at Gaza under the full recognition of the emperor Arcadius, who was apparently more concerned that the population continued to pay their taxes.[70]

If ever a reminder existed of the potential variations in religious circumstance between different places it can be found in the context of a visit by the emperor Julian to the Ilion (Troy) in 354. His guide, Pegasius was a worshipper of the Sun god, ordained as the local bishop, a position that enabled him to effectively protect the pagan sanctuaries from Christian interference.[71] Many individuals and social groups clearly felt passionate about any threat to the security of their cities' temples, whatever their state of disrepair.[72] In an urban context, this body of opposition came largely from the aristocracy.[73] We cannot assume that their efforts were driven simply by religious fervour. Many would have wanted the buildings preserved simply because they considered them to be fundamental visual components of their cities, particularly those still harbouring ideologies of civic euergetism.[74] Others would have appreciated the incomes derived from these "attractions", at least until they were effectively deprived of these by legislation in 407/8 and 415.[75] The local power wielded by these citizen groups could also

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[67] See Geffcken 1978 (p. 161) for a temple built in Numidia under Valentinian and Valens, and Fowden 1998 (pp. 557-8) for the 4th century construction and restoration of temples in the Saharan oases.

[68] Malak es-Sarrar: Lassus 1947, 245. Ephesus: Foss 1979, 76; Chuvin 1990, 55-6; Scherrer 1995, 21; Trombley 1995a, 96. See also Trombley 1995a (II. 275-6) for another example from Touron in Northern Syria. Milojevič is wrong to suppose that the Constantius' law of 356 made the upkeep of the temples illegal (1997, 344).

[69] Castrén 1999. 220. The restoration of the Parthenon might be attributed to an "intermediate" phase between the active temple and the transformation to a church, an issue that will be studied in Chapter 5.

[70] Brown 1995, 42; Chuvin 1990, 76-8; Trombley 1995a, I. 202-3. The emperor refused to use force against the temples of Gaza, since the pagan aristocracy were dutiful taxpayers and he feared a loss of revenue (*Vita Porphyrii*, 41). The pagans of Pleuit made a similar plea, but regular tax contributions were not sufficient to protect their temple from Shenute (Kaegi 1966, 255-6; Trombley 1995a, II. 208-10).

[71] Julian, *Ep.* 19; Chuvin 1990, 41-2; Bradbury 1995, 343; Fowden 1998, 542.

[72] See for example the 5th century defenders of the dilapidated temple complex in Carthage, described in Macmullen 1997 (p. 53).

[73] Brown 1961; Harl 1990, 15-18.

[74] On the perceived artistic value of classical monuments see Saradi-Mendelovici 1990 (p. 50).

[75] *Cod. Theod.* XVI 10, 19-20. These laws seem only to have been directed at the Western Empire, although admittedly those from the East may have been lost (Jones 1973, 938).

be directed at limiting the establishment of Christianity in a community, particularly if the local ecclesiastical representatives were not particularly dynamic, or were easily bought out.[76]

In the light of this, it was almost inevitable that attempts to destroy or appropriate a pagan temple would bring about some degree of social conflict.[77] For example, the context of the destruction of the Serapeum in Alexandria in 391 was an period of aggressive interchange and provocation between pagan and Christian groups in the city. An ill wind preceded this event in the East and Sozomen recalls how many pagans in the region mobilised in defence of their temples, particularly around Apamea.[78] When Cynegius arrived to oversee the destruction of the Temple of Zeus, he was reinforced by a military presence to restrain the crowds.[79]

Successive emperors in the 4th century made legislative attempts to curb unreasonable violence against pagans and their shrines.[80] However favourable the motivation, unpredictable episodes of violence rubbed against the grain of social order and discipline to such a degree that from the literary sources Peter Brown was able to detect a "fog-bank of tacit disapproval" for such activities, from Christian as well as pagan sources.[81] A law of 342 issued by Constantius II, whose legislation against sacrifice was particularly vehement, declared that "[...]the buildings of the temples situated outside the city walls shall remain untouched and uninjured",[82] indicating that there were destructive anti-pagan groups at work at least in the countryside around Rome at this time. As there were no punishments listed for this offence it can probably be seen as an attempt to prevent matters from getting out of hand, rather than to actually ensure the ultimate protection of the sites. In 382 a law was issued to protect a temple in Osrhoene, probably at Edessa.[83] In 399 the preservation of temples as public works was ordered in Spain and southern Gaul and another law was sent to Africa as a decree to protect desacralised temples.[84] We cannot however really be sure how effective any of these protective laws were on a municipal basis, or whether similar laws were also issued on a general level in the eastern empire.

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[76] Unfortunately, we only normally hear about the particularly active bishops like Marcellus of Apamea. Pagan landowners at Menouthis in Aegyptus, were able to bribe local priests into allowing sacrifices to continue at the local temple (Zachariah, *Vita Severi* 30).

[77] Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* VII, 15. These occasions do however appear to have been relatively rare (Macmullen 1997, p. 25, n. 82). An overview of resistance to Christianity can be found in Fowden 1998 (pp. 554-8).

[78] Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* VII, 15.

[79] Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* V, 21.

[80] The cases brought against Shenute who destroyed and converted temples in the Thebaid, show theoretically at least that this legislation was widely implemented (Trombley 1995a, II. 208-212).

[81] Brown 1995, 50. The views of Augustine and Socrates on these issues are neatly compiled by Thornton (1986, 126-7).

[82] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. 10. 3; Chuvin 1990, 37.

[83] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. 10. 8. Yet it was destroyed within a decade (Libanius, *Or.* XXX. 44f.).

[84] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. 10. 15, 18. Deichmann sees this moment as a parting of the ways for East and West in terms of their preservation of temple remains (1939, 106). Archaeologically, it is difficult to verify this claim.

The emperor Julian set a brief but not entirely durable barrage against the tide of Christianisation by ordering the reopening and restoration of the temples, the renewal of sacrifices and the expulsion of various bishops from their sees.[85] Although initially proclaiming religious toleration to all, within a short period Julian emerged as a pagan more puritanical than many of his Christian predecessors, which in the later period of his reign resulted in a revival of some persecution against Christians.[86] This brief historical phenomenon remains attractive to many archaeologists as a period to which evidence of apparently pagan restoration can be bound, with varying levels of credibility. Frantz has refuted Travlos' suggestion that Julian restored the Parthenon.[87] A building of coarse construction was built next to a temple on the slopes of Cyrene's acropolis in late antiquity. Although clearly a church, Goodchild interpreted it as a temple and proposed that it constituted a Julianic restoration.[88]

Due to the shortness of his reign, it is very unlikely that any archaeological evidence can be attributed to Julian's restoration of temples without the associated discovery of epigraphy.[89] Most temples would still have been intact and those that had been closed could simply have been reopened by unblocking their doorways. Yet many cities would probably have ignored the emperor's demands to restore the temples as many others had clearly ignored his predecessor's demands for temple closure. The impact for most individual localities was therefore relatively insignificant, even it seems for Constantinople itself.[90] Julian and his tolerant successors did however effectively halt the increasingly unsympathetic policies of Constantine's sons, which if continued through the 360s and 370s would surely have resulted in a much swifter eradication of paganism and much harsher persecution of pagans. Julian's short reign quite probably facilitated the survival of some temples for a further half-century or so, and

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[85] *Cod. Theod.* XIII 3. 5; VIII 5. 13; XV 1. 3; Amm. Marc. 22. 5. 2.; Libanius, *Or.* IIXX, 126; Julian, *Ep.* 41; Bowersock 1978; Chuvin 1990, 37; Fowden 1998, 543-8. For Julian in Asia Minor see Foss 1977 (pp. 38-41) and Sanz 1993.

[86] Julian, *Ep.* 46; Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* V, 5. 9; Geanakoplos 1966, 177-8. Examples of persecution at Gaza: Greg. Naz. *Or.* IV. 93; Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.*V. 9 and Emessa: Julian, *Ep.* 357C. On the peculiar nature of Julian's "paganism", see Fowden 1993 (p. 56) and more generally Smith 1995.

[87] Frantz 1979; Mark Waelkens' suggested that the late antique modifications to the Antonine nymphaeum at Sagalassos in Pisidia, involving the insertion of the statues of pagan gods into ill-fitting niches, is perhaps indicative of a resurgence in the public appearance of pagan statuary under Julian (Waelkens, Vermeersch et al. 1997, 161-2). It could however equally be attributed to the intervention of any local pagan benefactor.

[88] Goodchild 1971, 107. The structure was obviously a centralised church with a western narthex. The east end, where the apse would surely have been found, was not excavated.

[89] One example is the altar inscription from Thessalonica (AD 362), which describes Julian as "restorer of temples", although it is not possible to equate this with a particular restoration programme in the city (*SEG* 31. 641). Another is an inscription on found in the village of 'Anz in the Hauran, which records the restoration of a temple in Julian's name in 362 (Trombley 1995a, II. 332), which Butler suggested might refer to the nearby temple-church at Deir il-Meshquq (Fig. 33) (Butler 1907, 129-31). For additional epigraphic evidence, see Kotula 1994.

[90] Dagron 1974, 376-7.

the toleration of his immediate successors ensured that many also remained open for non-religious appreciation.

Many temples certainly suffered in the late 4th century, apparently enough to warrant the law of 397, that ordered the Count of the East to ensure that the stones of the temples be put to good use in general building and maintenance projects such as roads, bridges, aqueducts and fortifications.[91] No mention here though of churches, even though we know from the archaeological evidence that the remains of dismantled temples were finding their way into *de novo* church buildings before the end of the 4th century (see Chapter 3). For a short while, under the influence of the pagan-sympathiser Asclepiodotus, Theodosius II made attempts through legislation to prevent unlawful persecution against pagans, although this toleration did not long outlast Asclepiodotus' prefecture (423-5).[92] In a law of 435 Theodosius acknowledged that many temples probably no longer survived in tact.[93] There may have been more than he was told, since in a general law, issued in 458 by Leo and Majorian, the temples and other public works gained more stringent protection, with stricter penalties attached.[94]

As we have seen, the funds required for temple maintenance were clearly drying by the end of the 4th century, a process that in many places had begun long before.[95] As a result of this, in addition to external pressures and no doubt an increasing degree of local apathy, most temples were ultimately doomed to either dismantlement or eventual conversion. Those that were maintained the longest, particularly in major cities like Rome, might have been sustained by virtue of their more "secular" functions (see Chapter 5). Many saw the salvation of the temples in their laicisation: their effective removal from the realm of the sacred and redefinition as urban ornaments.[96] In a composition to Theodosius I, Libanius attempts to present the temples as vital "secular" components of any great city. He talks of the temple in Edessa (or Carrhae) in terms of its strategic importance: "they would be unable to capture the temple because the strength of its wall defied all the engines of war [...] if they mounted to its roof, they could observe a vast area of country".[97] He also argues that they should be given secular functions such as tax collection offices, in order to ensure their survival.

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[91] *Cod. Theod.* XV 1, 36.

[92] *Cod. Theod.* XVI 5, 60; XVI 10, 24. On Asclepiodotus see Holum 1982 (pp. 123-6).

[93] *Cod. Theod.* XVI 10, 25.

[94] *Cod. Theod.* VI; XVI. 10. 25. Significantly, Shenute of Atripe, a contemporary of Marcian and Majorian was brought before the courts as a result of his destructive actions against rural temples and paganism (see Trombley 1995a, II. 208-212).

[95] On the funding and responsibility for temple maintenance in antiquity see Stambaugh 1979 (pp. 574-5) and for its decline from the 3rd century onwards see Macmullen 1997 (pp. 57-9) and Bradbury 1995 (pp. 347-355). A good example for Asia Minor has been provided from excavations at the Letôon of Xanthos in Lycia, where the weakened resources of the impoverished sanctuary were vainly directed towards defending the site against the increasing severity of seasonal flooding (Hansen 1991, 334-6; Le Roy 1991, 350).

[96] Brown 1995, 51-2. See counter-argument of Elsner (1995, 284).

[97] Libanius, *Or.* XXX. 44; Chuvin 1990, 60-62.

In reflecting on Libanius' comments it is apparent that the secularisation of the temples was already the clearly defined intention of central government, as evident from the Law Codes. This is understandable in the light of the concern for civic maintenance throughout the 4th and 5th centuries,[98] and thus also explains the different policy on rural shrines. It was on this level of reasoning that in 384 Praetextatus was apparently able to gain permission from the Imperial Court to reclaim objects of value plundered from Rome's temples.[99] Some temples could indeed take on new functions in order to ensure their preservation, as we shall see later (Chapter 5). It was ultimately recognised that temples could essentially be regarded as public buildings, thus blurring the boundaries between pagan, Christian and secular perceptions.

TEMPLE DESTRUCTION

Historical Overview

The majority of historically and archaeologically attested episodes of specifically anti-pagan temple destruction took place in the 4th or very early 5th century, beginning in earnest under Constantine and reaching a peak at the end of the 4th century in both East and West (Fig. 3).[100] As we have seen, many sources suggest that the preservation of the temples was already an issue of concern by the middle of the 4th century and legislation was in place in order to protect temples from destruction by this time.[101] Recorded incidents of unrest and violence concerning pagan monuments appear to have occurred where pagan traditions remained strong through the 4th century, although by the middle of the 5th century the emphasis had moved to temple conversion rather than destruction (Fig. 4).

Once outside the Holy Land, Eusebius' vocabulary of restoration was untenable and in its place the desire to moralise society emerges with the targeting of pagan cults with particularly orgiastic rituals, for example at Aphaka in Phoenice and at Heliopolis (Baalbek).[102] Eusebius also reports that Constantine ordered the exposure of many temples to the elements through the removal of their doors and roofs.[103] Although it is not possible to deduce how far this was implemented, there might have

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[98] *Cod. Theod.* XV.

[99] Zosimus, *Nea Hist.* IV. 3. 2-4.

[100] For an overview of violence against temples see Thornton 1986, which includes a discussion of pre-Constantinian episodes (pp. 121-4).

[101] For example Sozomen (*Hist. Eccl.* V, 4) recounts Julian's punishment of the Cappadocian city of Caesarea, for the destruction of two of the city's temples.

[102] Eusebius, *Vita Const.* III 55, 58; Krencker and Zschietzschmann 1938, 56; Deichmann 1939, 107-8; Ragette 1980, 68; Lane Fox 1988, 671-2; Chuvin 1990, 32-3; Fowden 1998, 540-1.

[103] Eusebius, *Vita Const.* III 54.

been more instances than Eusebius recounts, since those he describes all lay close to his bishopric of Caesarea Maritima. Malalas later records that the Temple of Zeus in Constantinople and the Temple of Hermes in Antioch were also apparently destroyed by order of Constantine.[104]

Constantine's actions had set a precedent for destructive action against pagan sites. Even during his own reign there emerges some evidence for Christians in positions of newfound authority taking the law into their own hands, for example the personal crusade of the deacon Cyril against the objects of pagan cult.[105] However, evidence that those who sought to cleanse and destroy the temples were acting against the social grain can be found in the methods of their demise. Christian historians record the death of several Christian activists of the 4th century at the hands of outraged mobs, including Cyril himself at Heliopolis and more famously Bishop George of Alexandria.[106] Yet although in the provincial wilderness Cyril and George should probably have known better, there were others at a much higher level, applying pressure to the emperors themselves, to take destructive action against the temples. According to the senator Julius Firmicus Maternus in 346, "Christ in his graciousness had reserved for the emperor, the duty of blotting out idolatry and destroying the pagan shrines".[107]

Under Constantine, acts of temple destruction were all apparently commissioned directly by the emperor himself. By the later 4th century, violence against temples came more often from within Christian communities, often with influential local figures acting as catalysts, or occasionally under specifically viable circumstances as part of a provincial or governmental directive. After the relative calm of the 360s and 370s, activities against pagans were intensified under the influence of individuals such as Ambrose and Maternus Cynegius.[108] From the 380s the destruction of temples becomes a fairly common occurrence in the historical record and ample justification could always be found, even in Rome.[109]

Temples dedicated to Zeus, in his various local manifestations, were obvious targets as the chart below shows (Chart 1). Archaeological evidence however has demonstrated that the temples of popular late

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[104] Malalas, 318.

[105] Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* III, 7. 3. See also the embarrassing humiliation of Marcus of Arethousa in Chuvin 1990 (p. 44).

[106] For George of Alexandria see Socrates, *Hist Ecc.* III. 2-3. Socrates however tells of the unpopularity of George, who was an Arian with an arrogant temperament, and implies that his murder may not necessarily have been at the hands of the pagans. Also discussed in Bowersock 1978 (pp. 80-1).

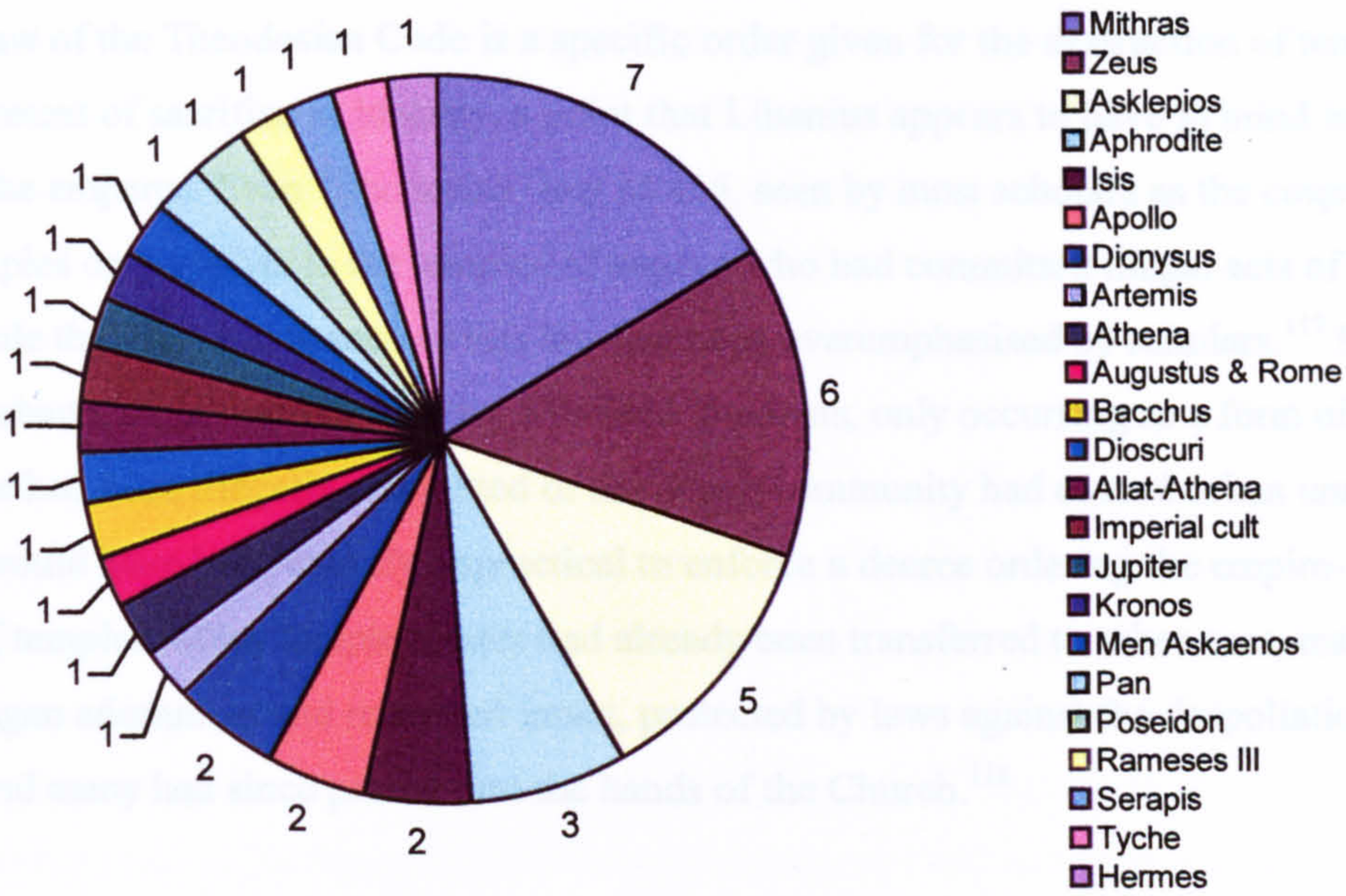
[107] Firm. Mat., *De errore prof. relig.* 20.7, 28.6, 29.1. quoted in Macmullen 1997 (pp. 13-14) and Geanakoplos 1966 (p. 177). See also Hunt 1998 (pp. 7-8) and Lane Fox 1988 (p. 672).

[108] Brown 1995, 49-54; Chuvin 1990, 59-63. For Cynegius see Jones 1971 (pp. 235-6), Matthews 1967, Macmullen 1984 (p. 98) and Gassowska 1982.

[109] The urban prefect Gracchus apparently ordered the destruction of a mithraeum in 376 (Jerome, *Ep.* 107), although in the same year in Rome a high-ranking priest inscribed an altar in a mithraeum with a list of his achievements, quoted in Maas 2000 (p. 170).

antique deities such Mithras and Asklepios were also specifically targeted.[110]

Chart 1: Dedications of temples destroyed or deconsecrated by Christian activity, according to both historical and archaeological evidence



The shrines of the healer god at Lissos on Crete, Corinth and even in Athens have all shown signs of extensive destruction in the archaeology.[111] According to Eusebius, Constantine had ordered the demolition of Asklepios' sanctuary at Aigeai in Cilicia (Fig. 2).[112] However Libanius' account of his own time spent at this sanctuary in 371 should remind us to exercise caution in the interpretation of historically attested episodes of temple destruction.[113] At the other end of the scale, it appears that temples of the Imperial Cult were predictably less often the scenes of conflict during this period. They undoubtedly would have received less popular support than the temple of a city's indigenous protector, and as such probably provoked less attention.[114]

According to the letter of the law, urban temples in Africa from 399 could only be destroyed if their existence had encouraged sacrificial acts to be conducted within their grounds. How far this was

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[110] In addition to several in Northern Britain (Wall 1966, 157-162), we can add the mithraeum beneath S. Prisca, where the eyes of the figures on the frescos were scratched out, the reliefs broken and the ruins of the chamber filled with rubbish (Martin 1989, 5). Many mithraea however survived long enough to be converted into churches (Vaes 1986, 337).

[111] Vaes 1986, 326-7; Spieser 1976, 312; Gregory 1986, 237-8. Libanius protested against the destruction of the Temple of Asklepios at Beroia (Libanius, *Or.* XX. 21-23). In art, the image of Christ was seen to absorb many of Asklepios' principal iconographic characteristics (Mathews 1993, 69-72).

[112] Although some have argued that this event took place under Constantius II (Chuvin 1990, pp. 33-4, 158, ft. 30).

[113] He reported that it had received great impetus under Julian (Libanius, *Or.* I, 143).

[114] I would certainly disagree with Teichner (1996, 63) that temples of the Imperial Cult were the first to be converted.

implemented in other provinces is not known.[115] Yet laws from the same time demonstrate how certain individuals (including bishops) were apparently claiming false authority to destroy temples. According to Libanius, the Praetorian Prefect Cynegius had falsified reports of continuing pagan rituals in the major temples of Oriens, leading inevitably to their destruction.[116]

In no single law of the Theodosian Code is a specific order given for the destruction of temples without the pretext of sacrifice or idolatry, a point that Libanius appears to have in mind in his pleadings to the emperor. Even Theodosius' law of 435, seen by most scholars as the *coup de grace* of surviving temples only applies to the temples of pagans who had committed illegal acts of sacrifice. It is quite possible that the significance of this law has been overemphasised by scholars.[117] Most instances of urban temple destruction were localised incidents, only occurring as a form of retribution, when sacrifice had been illegally committed or the pagan community had caused urban unrest. Moreover it would have been entirely impractical to enforce a decree ordering the empire-wide destruction of temples. Many temple estates had already been transferred to other uses, many had been stripped of pagan adornment and remained intact, protected by laws against the despoliation of public monuments and many had since passed into the hands of the Church.[118]

The 435 law is, in my opinion, not the *carte blanche* for temple destruction, but an austere re-iteration of a law issued in 399 ordering the destruction of the foci of continued sacrifice.[119] Implicit with this interpretation is the notion that if temples were protected from illicit veneration they were in fact still protected by the law of 346 (Rome) or 399 (Spain and southern Gaul).[120]

In any case, incidences of temple destruction are actually quite rare after the start of the 5th century (Fig. 3). In most places, the battle (if it had ever existed) had already been won. The late desecration and destruction in the Mithraea of Fructosus (Ostia) and beneath S. Prisca puzzled Laeuchli who believed that the perpetrators' actions merely served to "beat what was already dead".[121] Nevertheless, functioning temples are still attested after this time, for example at Athens, Carrhae and Philae.[122]

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[115] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. 10. 18. This is followed only a single month later, by an order released in the East to destroy all rural temples (*Cod. Theod.* XVI. 10, 16).

[116] Libanius, *Or.* XXX. 46-7.

[117] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. 10, 25. Bury 1958, 373; Hunt 1993, 157; contra. Frantz (1965, 187-8) and Hanson 1978, who interpret this law as an order for empire-wide destruction of temples, although they concede that it was poorly implemented. Fowden stated that the law provoked the "indiscriminate destruction of temples" (1998, 554).

[118] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. 10. 20, dated 415 acknowledges that some temple property had already been given away (inclu. to the Church) and transferred to new uses.

[119] *Cod. Theod.* XVI 10, 18.

[120] *Cod. Theod.* XVI 10, 3; XVI 10, 15.

[121] Laeuchli 1968, 99.

[122] Trombley 1995a, I. 12.

While contemporary historians focussed on the cataclysmic events such as the destruction of the Serapeum at Alexandria, there are in reality are only a handful of documented examples of temples being entirely destroyed through aggression. The sources imply, in non-specific way, that temple destruction was a worrying practice, if not particularly widespread. Although a number of sources indicate the occurrence of violence against temple outside urban areas, the extent of the damages to the temples is rarely clarified.[123] The difficulty of actually demolishing a temple is however very evident, thus further suggesting that such events were carried out only rarely when significant resources could be mobilised.[124] Many historically-attested instances, particularly in rural areas, might therefore be better defined as aggressive deconsecrations rather than actual demolitions or destructions.

After the promulgation of the Theodosian Law Code in 438, all laws in book XVI were validated across the empire.[125] Laws that had originally been directed at specific regional problems were brought together, and as a unit presented a series of conflicting opinions on the fate and status of temples (Appendix 1). How was it possible to interpret this legislation, when some laws apparently called for the complete destruction of the temples and others for their preservation, stripped of idols and imagery? In my opinion, the most realistic reading of the status of the temples in 438 is as follows: all temples were to be closed and access to them forbidden, but urban temples were essentially protected, so long as they did not form the focus of ritual activity.[126] Proposals to convert the temples to new uses were met with good favour and there is some acknowledgement that many had already passed to the Church. Temples that continued to provide a focus for illicit ritual should be destroyed, if the rituals could not be prevented by other means. Rural temples and shrines were to be demolished by the landowners, although the fate of these structures was clearly not the highest priority of central government.

The Main Protagonists

It is clear from the historical sources that the most destructive conflict between pagans and Christians took place in the diocese of Oriens, particularly under the prefecture of Maternus Cynegius (384-88), who apparently commissioned temple destruction on a wide scale, even employing the military under his command for this purpose.[127] Libanius accuses Cynegius of misleading the emperor and describes

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[123] For example *Cod. Theod.* XVI. 10, 3.

[124] Macmullen 1997, 53.

[125] Pharr 1969, 3-7, "Minutes of the Senate of the City of Rome".

[126] A point Libanius also makes with regard to the destruction of the Temple of Asklepios at Beroia, which he argues, had not been the scene of pagan rituals (Libanius, *Or.* XX. 21-23).

[127] Gassowska 1982. Although not all were instigated directly by Cynegius, for example the bloody riot at Sufes resulting from the toppling of a statue of Hercules (Brown 1995, 52).

him as "a scoundrel hated of the gods". His entire treatise *Pro Templis* was written as a response to the ongoing events under Cynegius' prefecture.[128] He was allegedly responsible for raising a monkish militia to destroy the Great Temple of Edessa and his presence is attested at the destruction of the Temple of Zeus at Apamea.[129]

While legislation passed under the dynasty of Theodosius attempted to eradicate paganism and at the same time maintain the built environment, there were powerful others, like Cynegius and John Chrysostum who were still able to sponsor, finance and implement activities against pagans and temples. The latter apparently secured large sums of money primarily from rich women in Constantinople, in order to finance the destruction of temples in Phoenice.[130] It is clear from the Law Codes however that there was at no time a general policy of the Church or state that actually permitted undue acts of aggression against temples.[131]

Sources however reveal that some local bishops sought this responsibility and carried it out with vigour. In late antiquity, bishops became not just the spiritual leaders of the cities but also took on greater responsibilities for urban administration and the maintenance of public works.[132] A successful bishop was guaranteed popularity, social power and an increasing degree of political influence in the cities. It was even within the reach of certain local bishops in the 4th century to acquire special imperial consent for the appropriation of temple estates. Thus, George of Alexandria gained permission from Constantius II to convert an abandoned mithraeum and Bishop Porphyrius of Gaza apparently managed to obtain the required documents and the support of the Empress Eudoxia when he burnt the Temple of Zeus Marnas in 403.[133] If a case could be brought against the pagan community, either for the continuation of cult practices or for acts of aggression, the bishop appears to have been the chief provocateur of the retribution.

However, while certain bishops seem to have wielded influence over imperial policy and action, the position of the bishop did not actually bring with it any political status within the governmental

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[128] Libanius, *Or.* XXX. 46; Trombley 1995a, II. 134-43. Libanius believed that the imperial support for Cynegius' actions was influenced by a report of continuing pagan rituals from Cynegius.

[129] Rufinus, *Hist. Eccl.* II. 26. 535-6; Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* VII. 5. 11-15; Libanius, *Or.* XXX. 44f; Zosimus, *Nea. Hist.* 4. 37.

[130] Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* V. 29.

[131] Kaegi 1966.

[132] For the growth and implementation of Episcopal power in provincial bishoprics, see Jones 1963 (pp. 21-2), Fowden 1978 and 1993, Mango 1980 (pp. 36) and Liebeschuetz 1992. On a more general level, see Hunt 1998. For examples from the Western Empire see Harries (1992, 82-91) and for North Africa see Lepelley 1992 (pp. 69-70). See also the case of St Theodore of Sykeon in Ancyra (Foss 1977, 57-60; Cormack 1985, 40-2).

[133] Alexandria: Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* III, 2. See also Hanson 1978, n. 7 for other examples. Gaza: *Vita Porphyrii*, 41, 46-51; Trombley 1995a, I. 12; Corcoran 1993, 101. The *Life of Porphyrius* is the most detailed surviving account of a bishop's involvement with the forced transferral of a pagan site to a Christian one.

system.[134] So while the bishops lacked any recognised political power, their social prestige and ability to raise a mob allowed some to work beyond the law and therefore to maintain external pressure on the policy makers.[135] Even on a local level, it seems that some municipal authorities only took action against continued pagan cult activities, when under pressure from local bishops.[136]

In 407/8 bishops were granted permission by law to use *ecclesiastica manus*[137] against pagans using temples in order to congregate for "convivial banquets in honour of sacrilegious rites or to celebrate any solemn ceremony". This is the sole ruling in the Theodosian Code specifically relating to the authority bestowed upon the Church for the purpose of ridding the cities of pagan practices. The acknowledged role of the bishop and clergy in the fight against paganism was entirely preventative: to caution the public against the proclivities of heretics and pagans and to ensure their education in the ways of the orthodox Catholic. So our impression of the bishop gained from the historical sources, as "an additional arm of secular authority",[138] was certainly not acknowledged in the only law that offers any official perspective on the place of the Church. It portrays bishops as neither informers nor urban activists, but as educators. Moreover, the law reprimands bishops for their apparent failure to successfully weed out the pagan elements of society, whilst proclaiming the alleged success of imperial legislation to these ends.[139] The 407/8 law is particularly illuminating in terms of Church affairs, since it also recommends that the properties of the pagans should be past over to the Church.[140] This law therefore marks a significant moment in the relationship between the Church and the temples. However it is plain to see that bishops or monks who conducted purges of pagans and their temples were not, until the early 5th century, supported in their actions by any general law.

Despite the total lack of political force behind the bishop's activities, scholars have argued that his power as a social leader and source of motivation was an essential contributor to the abolition of urban paganism. Cameron describes how Christian preachers were able to sway their flocks by adopting modes of discourse drawn from the panoply of pre-Christian culture in order to "take their audience by stealth".[141] Fowden is more explicit: "They [the bishops] knew the people, and they knew how to mobilise the resources, in what was after all an extremely difficult undertaking: the demolition, or at least closure of a temple, the eradication of a cult, and possibly even the construction of a church on its site".[142] Subsequent scholars have followed Fowden's line without question, yet we must observe

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[134] Hunt 1993, 152.

[135] Trombley 1995a, 111.

[136] Fowden 1978, 78.

[137] Probably means 'men subject to the orders of the Church' (*Cod. Theod.* XVI 10, 19 (n. 41)).

[138] Herrin 1987, 59.

[139] *Const. Sirm.* 12.; Fowden 1978, 56.

[140] This did not necessarily refer to the temples, see below p. 60.

[141] Cameron 1991, 120-1.

[142] Fowden 1978, 58.

caution before transposing the dominant personalities of the likes of Ambrose, John Chrysostum, Theophilus of Alexandria and others onto urban bishops empire-wide. For example Porphyrius of Gaza (392-420) did not even speak the principal language of the people in his city, so rather than stirring up the Gazaean Christians, who were a minority anyway, he went directly to the Greek-speaking Imperial Court.[143]

It is clear that the element of self-judgement that the historical authors bestowed upon bishops was, if accurate, often quite outside the law. Despite such trifling limitations, Porphyrius was able to destroy the great temple of Zeus Marnas and in its place construct a church in honour (and funded by) the Empress Eudoxia. While we might reasonably suspect that the task of constructing a church after the demolition of a temple was actually the job of an architect (τεχνίτης), it appears that some skilled bishops and priests might also adopt such responsibilities. On the basis of reasonable epigraphic evidence from Northern Syria, a certain M. Kyrios has been identified, who as a presbyter was also known as a τεχνίτης and appears to have constructed a number of churches in the region in the early 5th century, one of which was built partially from the remains of a temple.[144]

By the mid-to-late 5th century, the ecclesiastical authorities in most places had adopted a more pivotal role in the state of the built environment. So the bishop mentioned in a law of 503/4 inscribed on a plinth found at Corycos in Cilicia is described as *defensor* of the city and following a law of 530 all bishops were given responsibilities befitting the title [145] We can therefore certainly suspect the involvement of bishops in the conversion of temples into churches, although it is not attested in 5th-century sources. This does however become much clearer by the late 6th and 7th centuries, when the bishops of Agrigento and Syracuse are held directly responsible for the famous temple conversions in their respective Sicilian cities.[146]

Monks, Holy Men and Rural Sanctuaries

In the eyes of some contemporaries, the primary activists of temple destruction were Christian monks who were often driven to extreme anti-pagan aggression at the invitation of local bishops, who themselves often came from monastic backgrounds.[147] The involvement of monks is attested in several urban incidents of conflict, for example the destruction of the Serapeum at Alexandria and the great temple at Edessa.[148] Libanius describes their means of attack:

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[143] The proportions of pagans to Christians in Gaza are examined by Trombley (1995a, I. 191-3).

[144] At Babiska he was assisted by a deacon, who was also known in the inscription on the site as a τεχνίτης (Butler 1920, 163-9; 1969, 48ff).

[145] Keil and Wilhelm 1931, no. 197, pp. 122-9; *Cod. Just.* I. 4, 26.

[146] Trizzino 1980, 1988; Milojevič 1997, 349-50.

[147] Trombley 1995a, I. 134-73; Macmullen 1997, 16-18, 34.

[148] Eunapius, *Vita Aedessi*, 43; Libanius, XXX. 44f.

> these people, Sire, while the law yet remains in force, hasten to attack the temples with sticks and stones and bars of iron, and in some cases disdaining these with hands and feet. Then utter desolation follows, with the stripping of roofs, demolition of walls, the tearing down of statues and the overthrow of altars, and the priests must either keep quiet or die.
> (Libanius, *Or.* XXX 8-11).

He goes on to imply that their motivations for attacking temples were not entirely driven by righteousness, since their intention was to accrue the revenues from the estates.

Monasticism had spread like a bush-fire through rural Syria and Egypt during the 4th century and by the 360s was becoming increasingly popular in Anatolia.[149] In Egypt in particular, the proximity of cultivated to non-cultivated land led to a situation where many monasteries were built effectively outside the zones of habitation but in close proximity to them. Monastic communities in these areas were much more closely affiliated with the cities than is often supposed.[150] It is difficult to judge the efficacy of the bands of monks reputedly responsible for the destruction of masses of pagan sites in the East, like those led by the wild archimandrite Barsauma. His terrifying appearance alone was apparently enough to coerce conversions and if not, then his merry band would use the cudgels they carried against pagans, Samaritans and Jews indiscriminately.[151] Blame-seekers in the late 4th century tended to emphasise the role of monks, largely because it was inappropriate to point the finger at imperial policy.[152] Yet it is worth observing the long-term comparison with the West, where monasticism took much longer to gather momentum, apparently resulting in a "longer life" for many pagan sites, particularly in Greece where Gregory has observed a profusion of late pagan survivals.[153]

Temple destruction and mass conversion became essential to the repertoire of the holy man, in hagiographic literature from the 4th to the 6th century.[154] In his hagiography of Martin of Tours, Sulpicius Severus recalled the miracles of the man as he enlightened the population of Gaul through the destruction of their temples in the later part of the 4th century.[155] From the same period, Zacharius Scholasticus tells how in his student days, the young Severus had purged several villages of clandestine paganism near Alexandria.[156] Even in the 6th century, it was still an important

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[149] Brown 1971b, 96-112.

[150] Bagnall (1993, 296-8) also shows that many monks succeeded in retaining their wealth and that from the papyri it is clear that monastic life was not so isolated as is widely believed.

[151] Holum 1982, 186-7.

[152] See Brown 1995 (pp. 50-1), although this represents a "toning down" of his earlier comments (1971b, 103-4).

[153] Gregory 1986, 236. On other significant differences between monasticism in the East and West see Brown 1971 (p. 110).

[154] Brown 1971a.

[155] Sulp. Sev. *Vita.* XIII-XIV; Hillgarth 1986, 54ff.

[156] Trombley 1995a, II. 220; Bowersock 1996, 267.

characteristic of the saint's life that a certain amount of sacred-tree-felling and temple smashing be undertaken, as seen famously in the *Life of St Nicholas of Sion*.[157]

In the diocese of Oriens where monasticism thrived, the populations of some areas like the limestone massif near Antioch were converted relatively swiftly, while other rural districts clung vehemently to their traditional belief systems until much later.[158] It is significant that the majority of people in the empire lived outside the cities, and due to the widespread and dispersed nature of the communities, their conversion to Christianity proved in many cases to be a long and drawn-out process. Although there was great variation between different regions, the evidence is sufficiently compelling for some scholars to believe that the Roman East was still predominantly pagan at the end of the 4th century, when a law was passed ordering the destruction of rural shrines.[159]

The reason for this disparity appears to be that activities at remote temples were more difficult to monitor. Pagans who were unable to worship in the cities could practice discreetly by travelling out to rural sanctuaries, and many temples appear to have remained open for the customary stop as part of a journey.[160] On the other hand remote temples and sanctuaries were more vulnerable and appeared to have suffered at the hands of Christians from a much earlier date than their urban counterparts. Martin of Tours only appears to have been able to operate in villages and small settlements and Severus of Alexandria had to travel to outlying villages to destroy idols during his student days. This trend also appears in the Law Codes when measures had to be taken to protect temples in the Campania in 342.[161]

Rural temples significantly, did not fall into the topical realm of public building preservation. The 4th and 5th century laws concerning temple preservation were specifically aimed at preventing the denudation of the urban fabric, an apparently unnecessary concern for rural sites even though in earlier times most major rural sanctuaries had played crucial roles in the ritual and processions of nearby cities.[162]

In addition to Libanius' pleas for the protection of rural temples, the vulnerability of non-urban sanctuaries is well evidenced in the archaeological record. As Chart 2 (below) shows, extra-mural and rural temples are much more likely to end up as *spolia* in churches than be incorporated intact. This is

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[157] Foss 1991; Ševcenko and Ševcenko 1984.

[158] Lane Fox 1988, 46; Macmullen 1997, 64-6; Trombley 1995a, I. 147-68; Trombley 1995b.

[159] *Cod. Theod.* XV.10.16; Macmullen 1984, 83ff.

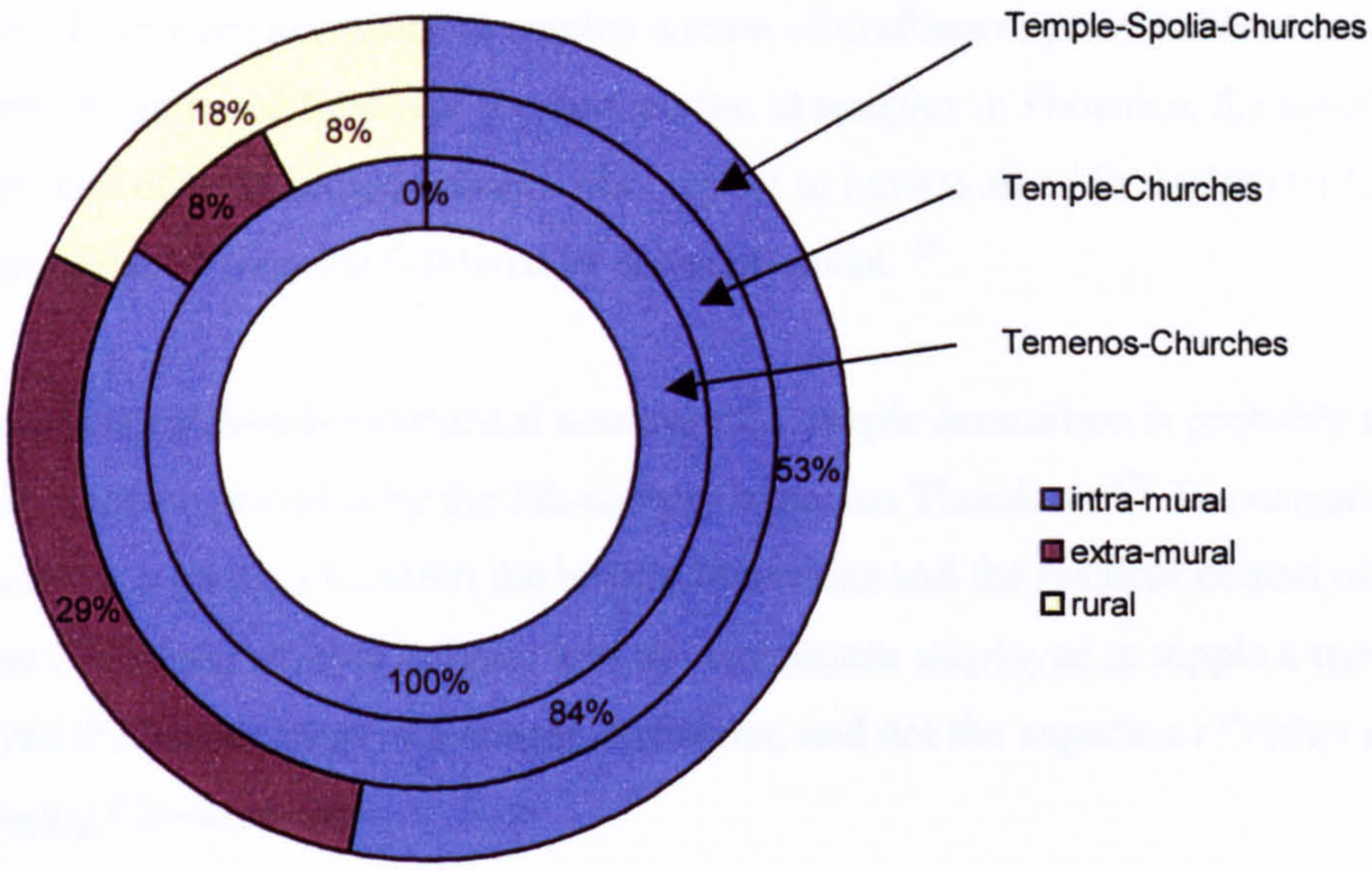
[160] *Cod. Theod.* XVI 10, 11. See Kaegi 1966, 254.

[161] Chuvin 1990, 36-7. Unspecified activities are also indicated at the Temple of Zeus Hypistos outside Neapolis in Palestine, by continued (although reduced) discoveries of coin issues until after the reign of Julian (Hohlfelder 1982).

[162] de Polignac 1994, 3-5; Jost 1994, 228-9.

true for villages as well as more remote areas and is particularly well documented in Syria.[163]

Chart 2: Location of Temple Conversions



According to Trombley the usual sequence of events was that monks or perhaps a single holy man would occupy the rural temple site and defeat the pagan demons. Later a church would be built within the temple remains and thereby facilitate the conversion of neighbouring villages. Probably the best archaeological evidence for such activities can be found at Srir in Northern Syria, where a coarse chapel was attached to the pronaos of a temple. The columns from the pronaos were repositioned nearby, which led Butler to suggest that they might have been used by itinerant stylites (Fig. 24).[164]

Methods of Destruction

Most destructive action against temples beyond the removal or destruction of idols and imagery involved fire.[165] Despite the quantity of stonework, temples were still highly flammable, due to the timber superstructure and the quantity of fabrics within. At Gaza, a mixture of pitch, sulphur and pig's fat was apparently applied to the bronze doors to encourage the flames.[166] Archaeologically it is difficult to ascribe evidence of fire damage to either natural causes or arson. In Cyrene however, at least three temples show evidence of fire damage and on each site, smashed statues and other imagery have also

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[163] Lassus 1947, 247-8; Libanius, *Or.* XXX. 10.

[164] Butler 1920, 236-8; Trombley 1995a, II. 144-6. The description and illustration given by Callot is however less that convincing (1997, 736-8). See also Saradi-Mendelovici (1990, 54-5) for similar activities elsewhere.

[165] The Shrine of Apollo at Daphne was wrecked by fire while the emperor Julian was resident in nearby Antioch (Bowersock 1978, 99); Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* V, 19-20; Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* III. 18.; Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* III. 6.; Julian, *Ep.* 29; Amm. Marc., 22. 13. 1-3 (note the comments of Matthews (1989, 439-41) on the omissions and apparent inconsistencies within Ammianus' narrative). The Marneion at Gaza was considered to have been desacralised by the conflagration (*Vita Porphyrii*, 66).

[166] *Vita Porphyrii*, 66.

been discovered.[167] Two of the temples were subsequently sealed. The excavations of the Temple of Aphrodite at Argos revealed that ceramic sequences had ceased at the end of the 4th century and there were extensive traces of fire damage.[168] For the absolute destruction of a temple however it would probably have been necessary to employ a team of craftsmen, presumably stone masons. When John Chrysostum gathered funds for the destruction of temples in Phoenice, the specific requirement was the payment of such skilled artisans who appear to have worked in tandem with local monks in a process of desacralisation followed by dismantlement.[169]

The most comprehensive historical account of a temple demolition is probably that of the Temple of Zeus at Apamea provided by the 5th-century historian Theodoret.[170] The narrative of the event is presented as a conflict between the bishop Marcellus and the resident demon of the temple, yet in the process Theodoret reveals insights into the techniques employed to topple a temple. Significantly, this involved the intervention of a master craftsman, and not the expertise of either a bishop or a rampaging Christian mob.

The Prefect Maternus Cynegius appears to have been involved in initial attempts to destroy the structure, reinforced by his troops "to keep the people quiet", a sign surely that the act was not entirely supported by the population.[171] The temple proved to be immovable and it was a lone stranger who convinced the bishop of his ability to collapse the peripteros and bring the cella walls with it. The peripteros architraves were propped with olive-timbers and the craftsman made substantial cuttings in three of the columns so that the props became vital to the support of the superstructure (Fig. 6). There ensued a battle between Marcellus and the demon of the temple, which manifested itself to prevent the props from being burnt. Marcellus' final victory saw the collapse of the three columns, bringing with them the rest of the peripteros and part of the cella: "The crash, which was tremendous, was heard throughout the town, and all ran to see the sight".[172]

Theodoret's illumination of this technique for the destruction of a temple serves to complement the archaeological interpretation of excavations at the Temple of Zeus at Cyrene.[173] Here, deep grooves cut beneath the column bases of the peripteros show signs of extensive burning and in two places the

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[167] Goodchild, Reynolds et al. 1958; Goodchild 1971, 47, 107.

[168] Spieser 1976, 313.

[169] Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* V. 29.

[170] Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* V, 21, who argues that this was the first time a bishop had been directly involved in the destruction of a temple; Chuvin 1990, 59-60; Trombley 1995a, 123-7.

[171] The military had presumably also been used for the same purpose at Aelia Capitolina, during the destruction of the Temple of Aphrodite (Eusebius, *Vita Const.* III, 26-7).

[172] Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* V, 21.

[173] Goodchild, Reynolds et al. 1958. Similar techniques also appear to have been employed to fell the peripteros of the Temple of Leto near Xanthos (see below, p. 58).

column bases remain in their slanted position within the cutting. The technique therefore involved either the use of timber props as at Apamea, or the insertion of a beam into the groove to support the columns and stabilise the peripteros while the columns were further undercut. The beams could then be burnt to bring down the peripteros. Only the columns of the long sides of the peripteros were undercut in this way, so it was either assumed that the short sides would fall with the rest, or that these were easier to tumble once the others had fallen. It should be remembered that the peripteros of the Temple of Zeus at Apamea was felled by cutting just three columns, so the architect of the destruction at Cyrene was either more thorough than Marcellus' man, or perhaps the latter's technique, involving props rather than underpinning, was more effective. What is fascinating about the episode of destruction at Cyrene is that it was not actually undertaken by Christians, but by Jews in the revolt of AD 115,[174] demonstrating that such techniques of demolition were something of an ancient tradition.

The Archaeology of Temple Destruction

The destruction deposit is one of archaeology's most enduring enigmas. When we encounter any archaeological evidence of destruction it is often too tempting to weave a colourful narrative of conflict and violence.[175] If a suitable historical hook is available, the archaeology can become chronologically secure and then later implemented in the authentication and elaboration of the historical evidence. The same applies to the earthquake record, about which I will make more comment later.[176] The principal task for the archaeologist is to deduce the causes of the devastation independent of the historical evidence and earthquake chronologies.

If the structure in question is a temple and certain diagnostic elements, such as mutilated statuary, are found in the debris, blame is usually laid with the Christians. When the excavators of the Temple of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth found that areas of the sanctuary had suffered destruction sometime perhaps in the latter part of the 4th century or after, it was not initially possible to apportion responsibility either to the Christians, Visigoths or earthquakes.[177] The subsequent discovery of the mutilated bust of a cult statue was apparently sufficient to attribute the entire end of the sanctuary to a "violent and wilful" episode of Christian aggression, even though the date of this event was no clearer.[178]

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[174] *Spolia* from the temple peristasis was found in 3rd century structures.

[175] See for example Gauthier's criticism of earlier interpretations of the relationship between a temple and church in Cologne (1995, 104).

[176] See Abramaseys (1994) on the exaggeration of the sphere of destructive influence of the 365 quake.

[177] Stroud 1965, 4.

[178] Bookidis and Fisher 1972, 285. A *terminus post quem* of the late 4th century was provided for the destruction of the Temple of Artemis at Aezani, based on coins found beneath the repaved ancient street that included fragments from the temple (Mitchell 1999, 180).

Probably the most widely cited archaeological evidence for such aggression comes from the excavations of the Allat-Athena Temple in Palmyra.[179] Here, the cult statue was discovered lying within the adyton, its head decapitated with a single blow from the rear. Other mutilations appear to have followed, both to the head and to the rest of the statue, and many slivers of marble were also found in the same context. In addition, the small interior altar was sliced horizontally, with its base left in position. The excavator assumed that these two events occurred simultaneously in a single episode of Christian violence. A *terminus post quem* for the destructive activity within the temple cella was provided by a single coin with a date range of 376-86. This was sufficient for Gassowska to propose a date of 385-88 for the "very last days of the temple" by reference to the command of the Praetorian Prefect Maternus Cynegius.[180] However, although the walls of this prostyle temple now stand only to a couple of courses there is no indication that the final demolition or dismantlement of the temple can be attributed to the same event.

Only the most detailed studies of individual monuments have therefore made possible the distinction between structural damage caused by human and natural causes. Any sort of damage to masonry beyond what would be expected to have resulted from collapse is also usually attributed to the Christians.[181] One significant exception emerged from the excavations of the Walbrook Mithraeum in London, where the use of a broad spectrum of evidence led to very different conclusions. The worshippers appear to have abandoned the temple in the early 4th century but it has been argued that it was subsequently redeveloped for a cult of Bacchus. Despite the fact that statuary was found within the temple in an early 4th-century context, it was suggested that this had been "buried with reverence and respect to the Mithraists" by the pagan inheritors of the site.[182]

Other scholars have also attempted to look beyond the most immediate assumptions of Christian aggression when faced with evidence of temple destruction. This was the case with the investigations of the Letôon of Xanthos in Lycia, a sanctuary which had diminished so significantly by the 4th century, that one suspects the excavators were unable to justify an interpretation of the destruction of the peripteros of the Temple of Leto as provoked by any form of religious tension.[183] The intentional nature of the destruction was apparently confirmed from the observation that very little remained of

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[179] Gassowska 1982. Trombley erroneously cites this as a "temple conversion" although there appears to have been no subsequent building activity (Trombley 1995a, I. 145-7).

[180] Gassowska does not however suggest the direct involvement of Cynegius, but describes the event as occurring because of the tensions raised during his command. However, her theory flaunts the basic premise of the *terminus post quem*, which is that the coin could have entered its context at any time after the earliest date of issue, i.e. at any time subsequent to 376.

[181] See for example the attribution of the destruction of the Temple of Artemis at Klaros to Christians based on damaged masonry (Mitchell 1990, with refs).

[182] One piece, a head of Mithras, appeared to have been dealt an axe blow to the side of the head (Shepherd 1998, 227ff).

[183] Hansen 1991.

the column bases compared to the large quantity of column drums, implying that the columns had been felled "comme on coupe un arbre", probably in a similar way to the aforementioned temples of Apamea and Cyrene. However, Hansen suggested that these actions were most likely associated with attempts to extract the valuable bronze clamps holding together the drums. This is an intriguing hypothesis that undoubtedly deserves investigation in a broader sample of sites.

So how can we even begin to interpret the differences between violent and chaotic destruction of the temple that is inferred from historical sources and a more systematic dismantlement? The Sanctuary of Mên Askaênos, outside the Pisidian city of Antioch at least appears to have suffered a particularly violent demise:

> Not a scrap of the temple above the stylobate was found, except two or three blocks of the lowest course (Ramsay 1918, 121).
>
> stones, tablets, statuettes, and the like were dashed to pieces and flung broadcast over the sacred enclosure (Anderson 1913, 209).

The accepted explanation for the absent material from this temple is that it was either dispersed widely or buried. An argument for the more recent robbing of this material is unlikely, since the monuments of Antioch itself, which is closer to the nearest modern settlement, are much better preserved. Certainly by the time the nearby church was built, it was only possible to draw on the socle blocks of the cella and the remains of the temenos wall for its stonework.[184]

To be fair it is hard to imagine that Anderson's "riot" and "revel of destruction" at the sanctuary could actually have resulted in the complete destruction of a substantial temple.[185] To begin with this would most likely have required a systematic approach, as was the case at Apamea and Cyrene. Although we cannot rule out the occasional bouts of wanton retribution, these could really only have been ancillary activities associated with the mutilation of statuary and destruction of votive stele. When we imagine the destruction of a temple we should perhaps think more of either demolition or dismantlement. This is well illustrated again by the Sanctuary of Mên Askaênos, which appears to provide some of the strongest evidence for an orgy of Christian destruction on the site. However a more controlled demolition of the sanctuary is implied by the survival of a female statue, which was left upright in its original position on the remains of the temple podium.[186] This act in itself implies that when the cella of the temple was brought down, there was some kind of control to the whole operation. Finally, since the excavators observed the blocking of the cella door, it is most likely that the temple had been closed

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[184] Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 85-6. One alternative explanation is that the temple was dismantled and its remains used in some construction within the city, before the construction of the sanctuary church.

[185] Anderson 1913, 269.

[186] Ramsay 1918, 117-118.

for a considerable length of time anyway and is therefore less likely to have attracted a violent fanatical mob than a still-functioning temple.[187]

Another revealing example that can be cited is the case of the Temple of Jupiter at Baalbek.[188] A church was built within the temple precinct in the late 4th century, from the remains of the altar and observation platform it replaced. Despite the historical attestations that Theodosius I had destroyed the temple, the archaeology reveals something very different.[189] The level of the court was raised by around 2m before the construction of the church, using material systematically dismantled from the temple, beginning with its uppermost courses and working down. The temple was not destroyed but taken down, block by block in a methodological fashion.

Natural Disasters

There was however an additional factor which in many cases signalled the premature abandonment of a temple: natural disaster. There is a substantial financial difference between the maintenance of a temple and its restoration after an earthquake, and while a steady stream of funds may have been available for the former, an earthquake or other natural disaster could signal the premature end for a temple site.[190] Late antiquity appears to be a period when a series of devastating earthquakes shook the eastern Mediterranean.[191] Ephesus apparently suffered severely from an earthquake in which a water pipe on the Embolos was ruptured and never properly repaired, so that for a while with every downpour the lower city was flooded.[192] A great restoration programme was initiated, yet by the late 4th century there can be little surprise that no funds were available to repair the city's great temples and some found new roles providing material for the needy restorations.[193] Earthquakes in the early 4th century appear to have destroyed the Temple of Apollo and other public buildings at Hyle near

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[187] Spieser (1976, 311-313) observes several other examples in Greece where Christian destruction has been assumed with apparently little justification, indicating that it was perhaps more likely that the Goths were responsible.

[188] Ragette 1980.

[189] Malalas, 344-5.

[190] See for example the numismatic evidence from Neapolis presented by Hohlfelder, who attributes the final blow to the major cult sanctuary of Zeus Hypistos as the earthquake of 363 (Hohlfelder 1982). Similarly, the Temple of Isis at Kenchreai (Greece) appears to have been abandoned after two successive quakes in 365 and 375. Besides natural disasters, other "non-religiously" motivated events that may have precipitated the demise of a temple could occur during invasion. The classic example is the Artemision at Ephesus, destroyed by the Goths in 262. The subsequent restoration, perhaps under Diocletian, apparently focussed solely on the cella, which was rebuilt with material re-employed from other parts of the temple (Foss 1979, 30, 86).

[191] Russell 1980; Croke 1981; Vercleyen 1988; Guidoboni 1994; Abramaseys 1994; Waldherr 1997.

[192] Bauer 1996.

[193] See Chuvin 1990, 55. The collapsed portion of the temenos of the Temple of Serapis was filled with rubble, even though the site was later revived when the temple was converted into a church (Wiplinger and Wlach 1996).

Paphos in Cyprus. Neither the temple nor the theatre was subsequently rebuilt.[194] Oriens and North Africa appear to have been hit by a series of earthquakes in the 360s, with a particularly devastating and famous quake recorded in 365,[195] which has proved an alluring hook on which to hang evidence of late antique destruction.

There is an archaeological problem with the identification of this kind of earthquake damage, since the late 4th century is also a period when temples were apparently targeted and destroyed by other forces, most notably the Christians.[196] Obviously with the case of Ephesus, a much broader context of destruction has been observed throughout the city. In other cases it is not so clear and the attribution of destructive cause often merely represents the opinion of the excavator. For example, Sagalassos in Pisidia was badly affected by earthquakes in the 6th and 7th centuries including a particularly devastating one in 518, which the excavators have suggested may have been the pretext for the conversion of the city's temples.[197]

With the Temple of Zeus at Cyrene, the excavators were able to distinguish three episodes of destruction: the demolition and subsequent partial renovation associated with the Jewish revolt in AD 115, the earthquake identified by the even eastwards collapse of the pronaos and opisthodomos columns and the desecration and conflagration of the cella interior by Christians.[198] This activity involved the utter annihilation of a head from a statue of Zeus into over 100 pieces, the smashing of other statuary and columns and the setting of a great fire.[199] Even here, the attribution of the earthquake damage to 365 creates serious problems. The Christian violence is characteristic of a period subsequent to c.380 in this region, which would however imply that the statuary had been preserved within the cella even after the pronaos and opisthodomos were destroyed by the earthquake.[200]

In the majority of cases the preservation of the temples depended on their maintenance. In late antiquity this became problematic, if not impossible in many places. If their contribution to the

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[194] Trombley 1995a, I. 177.

[195] Russell 1980; Mattingly 1995, 180-1. See the evocative description of the tidal wave resulting from the 365 quake in Amm. Marc. XXVI 10. 15-19.

[196] For the problems of attributing archaeological evidence of destruction to natural or human induced activities, see Russell 1980.

[197] Waelkens, Vermeersch et al. 1997, 173.

[198] It is argued that the famous 365 earthquake was responsible for this damage and that the Christian desecration took place after this time (Goodchild, Reynolds et al. 1958), but on the validity of using earthquake dates as archaeological "hooks" in North Africa see Mattingly 1995 (pp. 180-1).

[199] In the opinion of the excavators, the damage to the statuary and columns was too extreme to have been caused by normal collapse (Goodchild, Reynolds et al. 1958).

[200] The archaeological investigations of the Temple of Apollo at Cyrene suggest that the cella was converted into a church even after the partial destruction of the temple by an earthquake (Teichner 1996, 54-6).

appearance of the city had preserved them deep into the 4th century, the occurrence of an earthquake or other destructive action is unlikely to have been followed by a programme of repairs. Certainly, temples that were ultimately converted directly into churches, like those of Syracuse, Agrigento and Diocaesarea, are unlikely therefore to have undergone any such damages before their conversion.

THE APPROPRIATION OF TEMPLE ESTATES

There is definite lack of clarity in the Law Codes regarding the conditions whereby temple estates should be confiscated and to whom, a situation that cannot have aided the judicial process on such matters. A law of 364 orders the surrender of temple land to the *res privata.*[201] Later on, in 407/8 a law dictated that the buildings of the heretics (at this time classed as Donatists, Manicheans, pagans or Caelicologists) should be vindicated to the Church.[202] Another law of the same date is more specifically directed against pagans and prescribes the vindication to *public use* of the temples, while those on imperial land were to be put to some other, suitable use.[203] What is more surprising is that these two contradictory laws both originally appeared as part a comprehensive act against pagans and heretics given not long after the ascension of the young Theodosius II in 408.[204]

The distinction may lie in the nature of the property in question, as the Church's acquisitions were the "buildings" of pagans and not specifically the "temples". According to the laws of the time the Church were not able to aquire directly the great and splendid temples in the cities, but could be the direct inheritors of the shrines, congregational rooms and houses of heretics, amongst which the pagans were counted. Nevertheless the most suitable use to which the temples could be put was undoubtedly as churches.

Therefore after the turn of the 5th century the legal picture becomes clearer and given that in many cities the Church had gained an increasing responsibility in the affairs of the municipal infrastructure, the route to the acquisition of temple land becomes apparent. This is not the case in the 4th century. In the reign of Constantius II, George of Alexandria had applied for permission from the emperor to allow the construction of a church on the site of a disused mithraeum. Although the content of Socrates' narrative is highly suspect, it nevertheless reveals that special rescripts were expected to be obtained for such activities and in this particular case it was made clear that the building had been long

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[201] *Cod. Theod.* X. 1. 8. The timing and tone of the law implies that this had previously been undertaken, but that Julian had restored the original ownership.

[202] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. 5, 43.

[203] *Cod. Theod.* XVI 10, 19.

[204] *Const. Sirm.* 12. Laws to be included in the Code were split between the titles if necessitated by their content (Matthews 1993, 22).

abandoned.[205] This legal route was obviously merely the tip of the iceberg and many temples, particularly in the countryside were simply appropriated, perhaps by bands of monks or holy men (see above, p. 52).[206]

From a decree of Honorius and Theodosius given in 415 we can see that a significant proportion of temples estates (at least in the West) had through imperial permission, already passed under new ownership, which must have included the Church.[207] The law itself presents a confirmation of the proprietor's right to retain the temples, with the associated land taxes continuing to supplement the imperial treasury. This law also clarifies that otherwise unclaimed temples were to become imperial property.

So it was quite possible for temples to rightfully become the legal property of the Church either directly or via the fisc. The emperor Theodosius I himself is credited with the donation of a Temple of Helios Apollo on the acropolis in Constantinople to the Church in the first few years of his reign.[208] Given the importance of centralised urban space in this period, the bequeathal of temple sites to the Church could have a political dimension as was clearly the case when Phocas sought to nurture Papal support by allowing the conversion of the Pantheon into a church in 609. In the West under Theodoric, individuals appear to have been granted ruinous buildings in Rome and Spoleto, on the grounds that they would renovate them, a move that reflected widespread concern at the time for the *publicum decus*.[209] Similarly, according to a law of 401, vacant urban plots could be leased by cities to individuals, as a means of providing funds for the maintenance of other urban buildings.[210] The mechanism for the acquisition of temple sites after the collapse or destruction of the existing structure is readily explained by this development. By the 6th century however, when the municipal Church had absorbed many former responsibilities of local councils, the fate of temples lay more clearly under the will of the Church, as demonstrated in an inscription dated to 517/8 from Busr el-Hariri in Syria, which records how the former "undesired building" was given to the church-building patron by a local presbyter.[211]

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[205] Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* III. 2-3.

[206] Trombley 1995a, 134-73.

[207] *Cod. Theod.* XVI 10. 20. The wording of this law suggests that it may be a reiteration of an earlier law passed under Gratian, which has not survived.

[208] Malalas, 345; Dagron 1974, 375.

[209] Cassiodorus, *Variae* II. 7, III. 29, IV. 24, 30.

[210] *Cod. Theod.* XV I. 41.

[211] Trombley 1995a, II. 377.

REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN THE FATE OF TEMPLES

More than any other aspect of late antique urbanism, establishing coherence within the "diverse rhythms of urban development" is extremely challenging.[212] The religious climate varied greatly between cities and probably hinged to a large degree on the respective dispositions of the individuals wielding local power, whether it was the bishop, a governor or Prefect, or the local elites.[213] In addition, the attitude of the State towards monuments of pagan antiquity in the provinces is demonstrably flexible, as we have seen. Up until the promulgation of a unified Code in 438, it was highly possible that the laws dictating the fate of the temples varied greatly between different regions.[214] Any sweeping conclusions are invariably tempered by exceptions, which in the cases of Athens and Rome can be considered *in extremis*.

In Rome, Christianisation was hampered significantly by the elites: the great and ancient families of landowners and the upholders of tradition, many of whom remained stalwartly pagan.[215] The personal fortunes of many of these families were tied up in the temple estates, and the extravagant and regular celebration of festivals honouring the gods were one of the major ways of expressing public munificence; ensuring popularity amongst the masses. It would be a mistake therefore to think that the support for the ostensibly pagan usurpation of Arbogast and Eugenius was entirely born out of an actual pagan revival.[216] Those high status supporters of the revolt were expressing a number of different concerns from a commitment to pagan cult practice and age-old tradition to simple preservation of a way of life.[217] Despite the failure of this movement the institutional cults continued in Rome and its hinterland, funded from private sources and therefore almost certainly in a considerably reduced form.[218] In Rome the first recorded temple conversion was the Pantheon in 609.[219] In the provinces on the contrary, by the 6th century, many cities already had their major temples converted or replaced by Christian churches.

Similarly the strength of traditionalism at Athens allowed a longer persistence of cult activity and the preservation of the temples with their furnishings intact, although here supported more by an academic

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[212] Quoted text from the introduction of Christie & Loseby 1996 (p. 1).

[213] Kaegi 1966; Brown 1995, 42; Herrin 1987, 90ff; Jones 1963.

[214] For example, in 399 the Praetorian Prefect of the East is ordered to destroy all rural temples, while in the west and North Africa laws are passed banning sacrifice but ordering the preservation of the temples (*Cod. Theod.* XVI. 10, 16; XVI. 10, 18).

[215] Brown 1971b, 121-2; Croke and Harries 1982.

[216] Cameron 1999. See also Chuvin 1990 (pp. 69-72) and Geffcken 1978 (pp. 166-77).

[217] On Rome as a "sacred centre" of the gods in late antiquity see Fowden 1993 (pp. 45-50).

[218] For example *CIL* 6.2158 = *ILS* 4944; Zosimus, *Nea Hist.* IV ft. 156; Geffcken 1978, 223.

[219] Krautheimer 1980, 35ff, 65-72.

elite, than by the powerful local families that characterised Rome.[220] Even the emperors were reluctant to rob the city's temples of their treasures, and despite a series of security crises, a traditional way of life appears to have continued well into the middle of the 5th century.[221] In the 4th century few bishops are attested for the region in the council lists, a symptom surely of the slow progress of Christianity but a situation that would also mean that there was effectively a smaller power base against the temples. In the 4th and 5th centuries Christian builders avoided the city centre of Athens and the temples were still maintained. The continuing traditions particularly in Athens meant that Christianisation as a whole was much more gradual and therefore less abrasive. So it was not until the 6th or 7th centuries that some of its temples were eventually converted and these, like the Erectheion, Parthenon and Hephaisteion remained in an excellent state of preservation.[222] The only other direct conversion in the whole of Greece is on the island of Sikinos,[223] although this was a remote distyle-in-antis heroön rather than a temple.

Athens was unique in the region in this regard essentially because it was a university-town and hence a bastion of classical culture. Elsewhere in Illyricum the situation was different. Many cults were already in decline long before the Christian emperors[224] and after the invasions of the late 3rd century, resources for the restoration of the great temple complexes dried up.[225] A similar situation can be seen in parts of North Africa, where many temples adopted new "secular" functions, subsequent to the early cessation of cult activities.[226] It is important therefore to keep in mind that the failure to maintain the temples was not universally a result of Christianisation. "One should not assume that the decline of pagan religion and the rise of Christianity are so simply related, like children at opposite ends of a see-saw".[227]

Thus while cities like Athens were able to maintain their temples until the temple-conversion period, elsewhere in the region most temples had probably become unusable by this time, through lack of any form of maintenance. Nevertheless, the decline of paganism appears to have been relatively non-confrontational: there is little evidence for aggressive temple destruction, and churches of the 4th and

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[220] For general comments on the unhurried pace of Greece's Christianisation see Kaegi 1966 (pp. 264-5), Frantz 1965, Spieser 1976, Gregory 1986 and Trombley 1995 (pp. 283-332).

[221] For example Zosimus, *Nea Hist.* IV, 18. 1-3.

[222] Frantz 1965, 202-3.

[223] Dawkins 1911-12; Frantz, Thomson et al. 1969.

[224] Geffcken 1978, 25-85; Elsner 1992; Alcock 1994; Fowden 1998, 559-60. The widespread nature of this situation is noted by Saradi-Mendelovici (1990, 49, with references). This was however clearly not the case everywhere, as evidenced particularly in Asia Minor (Harl 1990, 9-14).

[225] For example at Olympia and Delos (Spieser 1976).

[226] Bagnall 1993, 261-8; Trombley 1995a, II. 333, n. 90.

[227] Bagnall 1993, 261.

5th centuries were generally built away from temple sites.[228] The prefecture of Illyricum appears to have been an attractive post for pagans and sympathisers in the 5th century, away from the immediate concerns of the court and in a region that had clearly not embraced the new religion quite as determinedly as others had.[229]

Other cities, for which we have a less clear picture, may also fit into the mould of Athens. For example Aphrodisias is known to have housed a substantial population of pagans in late antiquity, including a famous school of philosophy.[230] It is certainly worth entertaining the notion, as suggested by Trombley, that the situation in Athens and Illyricum was perhaps not so unique and many more cities in the Greek East may have followed suit.[231] Within this group we may also wish to include places like Diocaesarea and Syracuse: cities that were able to maintain their temples in a reasonable state of preservation up until their conversion to churches.

It should come as no surprise that the diocese of Oriens was the location of most of the conflict described by the Church historians.[232] The region's history of religious plurality meant that Christianity as a state religion was more difficult to impose than in other dioceses. This delineation of an area of "conflict" in the eastern Mediterranean could also be extended along the North African coastline at least as far as Cyrene.[233] It is known for example, that the city of Gaza was very closely affiliated with Egypt and the circumstances of the destruction of the Temple of Zeus Marnas bear close resemblances to the slightly earlier destruction of the Serapeum at Alexandria.[234] That Alexandria emerged as the root of this trend reflects directly the longer-term history of the city as one where tensions had often existed between different ethnic groups. This impression is reinforced by an understanding of the role of Alexandria in the Church politics of the time, as the city itself and a succession of strong-willed Patriarchs strove to restore an archaic magnanimity, while harbouring a deep-seated bitterness and obstinacy to the centralised ecclesiastical control of Constantinople.[235]

Syria and perhaps even eastern Cilicia might also be included in this zone of tension.[236] We are told that Maternus Cynegius and the bishop Marcellus were active around Apamea and that the people of

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[228] Spieser 1976. Some exceptions are given by Trombley (1995a, I. 330).

[229] Holum 1982, 118; Gregory 1986.

[230] Smith 1990.

[231] Trombley 1995a, I. 342. See also Geffcken 1978 (p. 125) for the tenacity of pagan roots in Asia Minor.

[232] Kaegi 1966, 249-258.

[233] Brown 1971b, 103-4; Geffcken 1978, 228-9. For the Christianisation of Egypt see Trombley 1995 (II. 205-40).

[234] Stroumsa 1989, 31.

[235] Bowersock 1996; Haas 1999, 286.

[236] For the Christianisation of rural Syria see Trombley 1995 (II. 134-204, 247-374).

the region were apparently mobilising in defence of their temples.[237] This is to some degree reflected in the archaeology, as the only direct temple conversion in the whole of Northern Syria can be found at Qal'at Kalota and even here, only parts of the walls were preserved.[238] Yet within the broad area of Oriens there was clearly great variability.[239] While Alexandria suffered at the hands of its own people, Beirut (Berytus) like Athens flourished as an eastern capital of late antique intellectualism, philosophy and "casual paganism".[240] Elsewhere in this belt from the Taurus Mountains to Sinai, destruction and later replacement with churches appears to be the norm, with temple fragments perhaps reused in the fabric of the new churches.[241]

By contrast, the historical evidence for destructive action against temples elsewhere in the Mediterranean is more sparse, limited to only a handful of sites. This cannot necessarily be seen as an indication of relative calm, since virtually our entire understanding of the destruction of temples is based on ancient authors' descriptions of events in Oriens and Aegyptus. What stands out about the destruction of temples in the East is the military and financial support that made these notable events possible. Elsewhere it appears that this was lacking and although Martin of Tours and others are reported to have destroyed temples as part of their hagiographical repertoire, we have to question the extent to which their activities could be considered as demolition, i.e. involving substantial structural damage.

The fate of temples in Oriens and Aegyptus cannot therefore be viewed as a paradigm of the situation across the whole empire. The apparent vehemence of Cynegius against the Syrian temples might have led to a period of tension, that others such as John Chrysostum, Marcellus of Apamea, Theophilus of Alexandria and Porphyrius of Gaza sought to exploit. This whole situation might well however have been significantly limited at least in a geographical sense. It is within the context of this geographically and chronologically delineated activity that we must consider the pleadings of Libanius on the dire fate of the temples.[242] These sources have provided the greatest influence on our

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[237] Although Trombley plays down the effects of the impact of these activities on the actual Christianisation of the villages (1995a, II. 312).

[238] Butler 1920, 319, fig. 358, pl. 26; 1969, 53, 122-4; Callot 1997. A few more are known from Southern Syria, at Simdj (Fig. 36), Deir il-Meshquq and one possibly at Bosra (Butler 1907, 108-9, 129-31, 248). In the Hauran there was also only a single conversion, that of Maiyamas (Fig. 33) (Butler 1907, 326-9; Deichmann 1939, 120) although the temenos-church at Deir Smedj (Fig. 39) might also be included (Butler 1907, 352).

[239] For examples see Walmsley 1996.

[240] Chuvin 1990, 112-5.

[241] For example at Gerasa, Damascus, Hõssn Suleiman and Betin (Lassus 1947, 247-8; Deichmann 1939, 110).

[242] Even the involvement of a Praetorian Prefect Orientis in acts against pagans ceased with the death of Cynegius in 388 and his replacement with the moderate Tatianus (AD 388-92).

perceptions of this period, to the extent that the impression of conflict they create has been applied on an empire-wide level.[243]

Besides the influence of individuals, it would seem therefore that one of the principal causes of variation in temple destruction and church construction between different cities, were the relative rates of Christianisation.[244] The episodes of violence between pagans and Christians in Gaza in the early 5th century are brought into sharp focus when set against the statement of Mark the Deacon that the Christians who were actually doing the desecrating were remarkably small in number at this time. This author of the *Life of Porphyrius* estimates only a few hundred Christians in the whole of Gaza and its environs.[245] The contrast in the effect of Christianity on Gaza and its nearby port of Maiouma, also shows the potential for stark variation, even on a very local level. While Gaza remained a pagan stronghold, even after the destruction of its most celebrated temple, its port had been rapidly Christianised.

In a recent article Kenneth Holum suggested that Christianisation usually occurred "in the blinking of an eye": that the conversion of leaders and influential figures was usually followed by the conversion of their dependants. The scepticism with which we usually regard historical inferences of mass conversions is therefore unjustified according to Holum, who sees such incidences as the primary mechanism of conversion.[246] Inevitably, everybody was in some way a dependant and Kaegi also sees the influence of personal contacts as the most effective means of conversion.[247] If this is the case, and the argument is compelling, we cannot realistically understand Christianisation as a gradual process. Empire-wide it may have been, but on a local scale the Christianisation of individual communities could be much more expeditious. One of the most important implications of this argument is that the proportion of Christians to pagans in a city could change dramatically in a relatively short period of time, thus swinging the balance of power firmly into Christian hands. Another important point made by Holum is that the construction of a church on the site of a temple in the city centre itself acted as a stimulus for mass conversion, in which case it could seem that these acts actually preceded the Christian domination of the city. According to this theory, the replacement of a temple with a church, in a city with a substantial non-Christian community, is likely to have resulted in some degree of mass conversion, as demonstration was made of the gods' inability to defend themselves.

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[243] This notion that violence was ubiquitous is expressed in a number of works, for example Harl 1990.

[244] For a speculative and environmentally deterministic account of the regional progress of Christianity in Asia Minor, see Ramsay 1897 (511ff). For Syria see Trombley 1995a (II. 134-204, 247-374). Fowden estimates that the Christianisation of Southern Syria lagged behind the north by at least 50 years (1998, 541).

[245] Stroumsa 1989, 30; Trombley 1995a, I. 191-3.

[246] Holum 1996. This view is shared by Macmullen (1984, 29; 1990).

[247] Kaegi 1966, 254. He explains that these conversions were much more effective than the kind of conversion prompted by legislation, since they essentially voluntary (pp. 264-5).

The historical evidence of mass conversion following the destruction of the Serapeum in Alexandria is used in support of this argument, but evidence from elsewhere would appear to cast some doubts. For example, a church was built within the temenos of the partially dismantled Temple of Jupiter at Baalbek (Heliopolis), probably at the end of the 4th century. Christians are however reported to still be a minority in the city some 200 years later.[248] In addition, there was still a substantial pagan population in Gaza, five years after the destruction of the Marneion and influential pagans are attested in Aphrodisias after the conversion of the Temple of Aphrodite in the late 5th century.[249]

Libanius would also have disagreed: "But if conversions could be effected by these acts of destruction, the temples would have been demolished long ago" (*Or.* XXX. 27).[250] Although much of Holum's evidence is from the reign of Constantine, he is also able to cite recorded instances of mass conversion in the later 4th and 5th centuries.[251] There can be little doubt that the destruction of a temple by a Christian bishop (even if assisted by the military) was destined to make pagans question the strength of their own gods. In addition there is much literary evidence to suggest that temple destruction occurred in areas where paganism lingered the longest and was employed as a *means* of stimulating conversions. However as we will see later in detail, most dated temple conversions occurred after the turn of the 5th century at a time when Christianity had already become the dominant socio-political force in most cities.[252]

CONCLUSION

The practices of blood sacrifice and divination were clearly seen as the most unacceptable aspects of pagan cult under the Christian emperors and distinct from chthonic belief systems and simple offerings.[253] This is the principal concern found within the Law Codes and many instances of temple destruction and the executions of pagans spawned from events when continued sacrifice is reported (Appendix 1). The fact that for most new Christians, conversion did not involve a complete rejection of an inherent belief system meant that these actions were still considered dangerous. From a Christian point of view, sacrifice was the quintessence of pagan cult; it not only provided a medium for treason but also gave nourishment for the *daimones* of the temples.

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[248] Kaegi 1966; Ragette 1980.

[249] Kaegi 1966; Trombley 1995a, I. 201-3, 223-4, II. 382.

[250] Trombley also strongly disagrees with the notion of mass conversions, based on epigraphic evidence from Northern Syria (Trombley 1995a, II. 311)

[251] Mass conversion of the Saracens of Elusa (near Gaza) in 360 (Jerome, *Vita Hilarionis*, XXV); others in 417, 421 and 498 (Holum 1996, 134-8).

[252] See Kaegi 1966.

[253] Bradbury 1995.

If we follow the legislation surviving in the Theodosian Code it becomes apparent that until 391 the practice of public pagan worship was relatively unhindered, assuming that blood sacrifice could be removed from the rituals and festivals. While in some places temples were nevertheless gradually closed down, in others they clearly continued to provide a focus for cult activities, which in more remote places might even have involved a sacrificial element. Although temple restoration was not widely practiced in the 4th century, this was as much to do with changing attitudes towards the built environment, as it was to do with the effect of Christianity. The impact of Christianity was often simply to precipitate their dilapidation. It was in no place illegal to carry out restoration on a temple in the interest of maintaining the urban fabric. This makes perfect sense of the apparent innocence of Pegasius and his temples in Ilion and the Christian patrons of the temple on the Embolos at Ephesus. During the reign of Julian and to a certain extent Valens, restorations and temple re-openings might have been facilitated in some areas by a more favourable political climate for public paganism.

The precedent for attacks against pagan monuments was set by Constantine's building program in the Holy Land and although there were pockets of tension throughout the 4th century, the situation appears to have reached a climax towards the end of the century. In terms of the severity of punishments the early 390s is a significant period, when Theodosius now joined by his sons Arcadius and Honorius and perhaps motivated by Ambrose, introduced stringent new laws aimed particularly at sweeping his administration clean of pagans and at finally eradicating sacrifice.

The apparent tension between some pagan and Christian communities would inevitably boil over in some cases to not only attacks against individuals, but also against the places of worship. Most temples had probably been closed to sacrificial ritual by the late 4th century when we see sporadic but isolated instances of temple destruction, targeted specifically at those temples where the legislation and local coercion had failed. These conflicts were essentially caused by individuals like the Praetorian Prefect Cynegius or Porphyrius of Gaza, who attempted to accelerate a gradual and inevitable process, as coercive and more subtle influences transformed the ritual environment.

This study has demonstrated the difficulties of distinguishing archaeologically between human and natural episodes of destruction at temple sites. However, the archaeological evidence has shown us in the first instance that Christian responsibility for the actual destruction of temples might have been exaggerated and also that the demolition of a temple was a major exercise, not easily carried out by a mob armed with cudgels. We might therefore consider changing the accepted definition of the late 4th century from a period of widespread temple destruction, to one of widespread acts of deconsecration, with limited and sporadic episodes of destruction.

We cannot assume therefore that scenes of aggression against either pagans or their buildings invariably accompanied the closure of a pagan sacred site.[254] As Peter Brown points out with regard to Libanius' anger: "we know of many such acts of iconoclasm and arson because well-placed persons still felt free to present these incidents as flagrant departures from a more orderly norm"[255]. Other scholars have lent considerable weight to the notion that the boundaries between pagan and Christian communities in the 4th century were not as stark as some contemporary historians would have had us believe and that open conflict was something of a rarity.[256]

In addition as we have seen, the temples continued to be protected and although the legal situation of practicing pagans is sometimes unclear from the Code, the intention of 4th century legislation regarding the temples themselves is certain. Urban temples were to be stripped of pagan intonation, but were to remain as monuments of a city's grandeur, as public works and therefore preserved, maintained and put to some other use. I have argued that this attitude was relatively constant and consequently, that the significance of the 435 law, apparently ordering the destruction of *all* temples has been misinterpreted and overemphasised.

Clearly the fate of the temples varied from place to place, although we have managed to establish at least the semblance of regional diversity, which created a different situation for temples in the diocese of Oriens from those in Illyricum and in turn from those in the West. Equally, the rural temples were also exposed to different threats from those in the cities, particularly because they lacked the legislative protection enjoyed by their urban counterparts. Increasing remoteness aided the continuity of pagan cult activities in some places, but the isolation of the countryside also meant that they were more vulnerable to assault.

By the early 5th century many temple estates had probably passed into new ownership, whether with the State, the Church or under private enterprise. By this time the Church was also able to petition for such properties from the State, thus opening for the first time a judicial route from temple to church.[257] We should however recall that both the acquisition of temple estates and the ritual cleansing of the temples themselves could in many cases have been driven primarily by economical incentives.

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[254] As did Hohlfelder with reference to Neapolis (Hohlfelder 1982, 77f). For a measured discussion of the period see Macmullen 1997, 1-31.

[255] 1995, 49

[256] Cameron 1991, 121-4; Markus 1991; Trombley 1995a, I. 166-8, II. 335-6; Macmullen 1997, 6-8. Christianisation in late antiquity was for the most part very different from the kind of missionary activity that we see up until the middle of the 19th century. For example, the conversion of parts of the Arctic was effected through the destruction of sanctuaries and the annihilation of shamans, and with them the society's cultural memory (Ovsyannikov and Terebikhin 1994). Here the coercive forces came from an external world. Christianity in late antiquity came from within.

[257] *Cod. Theod.* XVI 10, 19.

Nevertheless, the increasing potential of temple acquisitions within the bounds of the law, coupled with the increasing role of the ecclesiastical authorities in the general affairs of the built environment, were surely the key developments that made episodes of temple destruction a thing of the past.

By the middle of the 5th century, it is clear that in the imperial opinion acts of sacrifice had mostly been driven underground and that the surviving temples no longer served as ritual foci.[258] Yet despite the publication of the Code in 438, legislation continues with repeated calls for the cessation of sacrifice well into the 6th century, when through the severe legislation of Justinian, the freedom of conscience that had been the major benchmark set by the Edict of Milan was finally abolished.[259] In the Law Codes of Justinian, we see a shift from the generalised legislation characterising the Theodosian Code to targeted action against individual centres. This gradual transition towards more localised action, would predictably have created situations where temple conversion could be instigated and funded by imperial initiative, perhaps with political overtones. Suffice to say that this development within the legislation corresponds with the period when most temple conversions appears to have been undertaken: the late 5th and 6th centuries.

The legal status of the temples in 438 appears to be better than for individual pagans themselves. Temples that had been kept free from acts of sacrifice stood a good chance of still being intact. Moreover those in the cities continued to be protected by the law. Yet it is highly probable that the fate of individual monuments was decided more by the dispositions of the local authorities, bishops and monks, or the frequency of earthquakes, than total obeisance to distant decrees. These were the mechanics by which the cities were transformed. The local level had its own dynamism and only in extreme cases or when prosecution was required would it become the business of the governor. On a day-to-day basis, the pagans could still honour the gods discreetly in their homes and observe the festival days. The municipal authorities could seal up the temples or merely order a deconsecration. By law the bishops could only intercede on funerary banquets, yet their true power to convert lay in the increasing social status of the Church. Despite the episodes of violence many cities would still have standing temples in the middle of the 5th century. For those that had fallen in the preceding century, we clearly cannot lay the blame entirely at the door of the Christians. The temples were exposed to the same forces that were gradually bringing about the most significant transformation the cities had undergone in over 300 years.

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[258] *Cod. Theod.* III 8; Trombley 1995a, I. 72-93.

[259] Cod. Just. I. 5, 6-10; I. 11, 8; I. 9, 10; I. 11, 17; II. 9, 7; Kaegi 1966, 248-9; Chuvin 1990, 132-48; Harl 1990; Macmullen 1997, 26-9.

CHAPTER 3

THE MECHANICS OF CONVERSION

INTRODUCTION

The study so far has provided a social, historical and legislative context for temple conversion. In this chapter I will situate the practice of temple conversion within this framework as an archaeological phenomenon by examining the physical characteristics of churches built from the remains of temples. These incorporated their predecessors' remains to a greater or lesser degree. Some churches still looked very much like temples (Fig. 11). Other rarer examples resembled a kind of basilica-temple hybrid, with side walls vertically striped by extant peripteros columns (Fig. 12). For some the temenos wall of the temple remained significant for the church, and for others, the temple was entirely destroyed and then rebuilt from the same stone, almost in metamorphosis, as a church.

This investigation will attempt to define an "architectural vocabulary" of temple conversion and shed light on the possibility that particular forms of temple conversion, visible in the archaeological remains, may be symptomatic of chronological, regional, or even socio-political determinants. It will enable us later in this work to assess the possibility that an understanding of the structural transformation process can help us to gain a broader historical picture of the period in question.

Vaes' *Atlas* of buildings re-utilised as churches reveals the existence of a contradiction in most works specifically concerned with temple conversion, that is a pre-determined differentiation between temple conversions and churches built from other, "secular" structures.[1] By attempting to provide a synopsis of the entire phenomenon, Vaes was able to set the temple conversion against this broader framework of building re-utilisation in late antiquity, thereby implicitly disputing the impression we often get, of temple conversions as architectural curiosities.[2] Most importantly, we learn from Vaes that it is necessary to interpret the particular characteristics of temple conversions as an integral part of a fluid and regionally diverse climate of architectural expression. In the first few pages of this chapter I will explore these issues and present the temple conversion – in terms of urban maintenance and aesthetics – as part of this broader transition.

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[1] Vaes 1986 and 1990, with excellent illustrations in the former.

[2] This point was emphasised by Milojevič, who described transformation as a "mainstream architectural activity" (1997, 343).

BUILDING CONVERSION IN LATE ANTIQUITY: AN OVERVIEW

Civic Centre Erosion and Architectural Reuse

The repair and maintenance of the built environment became a major fiscal and logistical concern in the late antique city.[3] The details of this transformation have been studied extensively in the West by Bryan Ward-Perkins and others, who have each taken a slightly different stance somewhere between positivism and negativity, depending according to Ward-Perkins, on their backgrounds and sub-disciplines.[4] Although a more positive picture emerges from the East it is nevertheless clear that as an empire-wide urban phenomenon, buildings and their material components were becoming widely available for appropriation. The reuse of the old for the construction of the new was certainly not a concept that originated in late antiquity.[5] However the 4th century does appear to us today as an age of opportunism and small-scale industrialisation, characterised by a widespread decline in the maintenance of public works, the reuse of building materials and the encroachment of private concerns into public spaces.[6] Any examination of the archaeology of temple conversions must be set against this prevailing trend in civic building and maintenance.

One of the principal characteristics of late antique construction is the extensive implementation of reused architectural elements (*spolia*) in the fabric of new or renovated buildings.[7] The restrictions on this practice were part of a long-term imperial policy aimed at the conservation of the cities' *ornata*: their public monuments. Although the acquisition of material from intact buildings for new construction was explicitly forbidden, we know from the archaeology and the Law Codes that it occurred extensively.

The contemporary use of the term *spolia* was actually for the denuded structures from which reused material originated and was therefore a word loaded with negative connotation. Reused material itself was however usually defined with a much more positive vocabulary.[8] Its use was generally encouraged so long as the material was acquired from buildings that had already been destroyed.[9] So

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[3] The issue of urban maintenance in late antiquity has attracted a substantial bibliography. See in particular Ward-Perkins 1984 and Liebeschuetz 1992.

[4] Ward-Perkins 1997.

[5] Lanciani 1980, 28-30.

[6] A recent archaeological example of encroachment in the 4th century can be seen at Sagalassos (Waelkens, Vermeersch et al. 1997, 147).

[7] *Cod. Theod.* XV. Various explanations exist for the development of this practice: Esch 1969; Deichmann 1975; Kazhdan and Cutler 1982 (pp. 463-4); Lanciani 1980; Ward-Perkins 1984; Brenk 1987; Saradi 1988 (pp. 385-7); Greenhalgh 1989; Saradi-Mendelovici 1990 (pp. 50-1); Alchermes 1994; Kinney 1995 and Ward-Perkins 1999.

[8] Alchermes 1994, 167-8.

[9] *Cod. Theod.* XV; also as recommended by Cassiodorus (*Official Correspondence* 3. 9), quoted in Maas 2000 (pp. 310-1).

the practice of incorporating older elements into a new building seems to have been looked upon with good favour in many instances, but clearly only under the appropriate conditions of acquisition.

Secular conversions

By the mid-4th century, when decline in the maintenance of some public works had led to the availability of derelict lots within the civic centres themselves we start to witness churches constructed in and around public places, for example civic basilicas, bath houses, barracks, theatres, cisterns and fora. Many examples of converted building types are illustrated by Vaes, who clearly demonstrates the great variety in potential conversion scenarios.[10] In the urban centres, we find churches composed from basilicas, odeia and various other buildings associated with municipal authority. At Cremna in Pisidia, a three-aisled basilica that ran along one side of the forum was transformed into a church by the blocking the intercolumniations of its forum peripteros and the addition of an apse, itself perhaps built from the remains of an earlier exedra (Fig. 7).[11] Perhaps unsurprisingly, central urban basilicas were some of the first structures to be turned over to the Church. Not only by their form were they readily transformed into churches, but their acquisition by the Church also reflects the latter's increasing role in municipal affairs.

Many available and suitable structures became the focus for Christian building. Churches were installed in bathhouses, incorporating nymphaea or above cisterns. The water theme in many cases was readily transferable to the Christian baptismal liturgy and the large surface area of a church roof for water collection led to a long association of churches with water storage.[12] The Church's apparent disapproval of popular entertainment also on occasion made theatres, amphitheatres and stadia potential areas for redevelopment. Churches built in such settings were perhaps seen as the imposition of Christian moralistic values on pagan entertainment, particularly in the case of churches built in amphitheatres, which may have specifically honoured the martyrs and had associations with their increasingly popular cults. However in many cities, when the entertainments were scaled down or abandoned, the open space of an arena was a more than suitable urban context for a new church.[13] The occupation of military installations seems also to have been viable when the opportunity emerged. Churches built against city walls or adjacent to towers are perhaps a result of the tendency for the Church to concern itself increasingly with matters of defence.[14]

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[10] See n.1. Also Milojevič 1996 (pp. 256-62, 259-60).

[11] Mitchell 1995, 220.

[12] At Jebel Oust in Africa Byzacium (Fig. 62), a spring in the temple courtyard was employed to supply the cella after its conversion to a baptistery for the adjacent church (Duval 1973).

[13] For a recent discussion of entertainment and "contested topography" in late antiquity see Lim 1999.

[14] This was argued by James Crow in a recent publication on the defences of Tocra (Smith and Crow 1998). In Asia Minor the construction of churches against fortifications has been evidenced for example at Bargylia (La Rocca 1992, 73-4).

Of course the agora and colonnaded streets of the late antique city were ideal intra-urban sites. Open and aggrandised public space, a fundamental necessity of urban life in the High Empire were gradually sacrificed to commerce and industrial clutter.[15] The construction of churches in former open spaces was therefore simply part of this change. Thus we find churches straddling the porticoes of urban centres attracted no doubt by the existence of a ready-made colonnade, for example the church built in the Hellenistic agora at Lyrbe in Pamphylia and the church in the Hadrianic Forum at Sagalassos.[16]

In his seminal work on the use of *spolia* in late antique construction, Deichmann concluded that in the 4th to 5th centuries the reused material for a new building was very often appropriated from a single source structure.[17] To maintain the appearance of the city centres it was clearly preferred practice to reuse *in situ* rather than to gradually erode a building piecemeal for use elsewhere. So at Labraynda in Caria for example, a Christian basilica constructed between the eastern baths and a propyleum was comprised largely of *spolia* acquired solely from these two structures.[18] Clearly this church, along with many others in similar situations, was taking advantage of an available intra-mural building plot and a local abundance of ready-cut material.

Secular conversions are well attested in the 4th century and may well have waned in the 5th when temple sites increasingly became available. In engineering terms there is a tendency to employ the pre-existing structure as far as possible, even at the expense of current trends in Church architecture, demonstrating in particular the overall flexibility in 4th-century church construction. The re-utilisation of a secular structure for a church therefore rarely involved complex engineering problems. The emphasis was on internal re-partitioning to meet the spatial demands of the new function. Only with the addition of an apse, the focus of the hall, was it actually necessary to disrupt the fabric of the building. This is apparent in Constantine's church of S. Croce in Gerusalemme and the first church of S. Martino ai Monti, both in Rome, where internal partitioning and the addition of an apse to the former were the principle modifications.[19] The perceptual image of "a church" in the 4th century had few boundaries and there was little prescribed format for the spatial context of Christian worship.

It must be remembered that temples were not the sole structural bearers of sacred identity in the cities and we should be careful about making stark distinctions between temple-churches as potentially

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[15] Kennedy 1985. See also Ward-Perkins 1996.

[16] Lyrbe: Inan 1998, 35. Sagalassos: Waelkens, Pauwells et al. 1995, 27. A colonnade was also an attraction to the temple converters, as we shall see later.

[17] Deichmann 1975.

[18] Bean 1980, 40.

[19] Krautheimer 1980.

meaningful conversions and "secular" conversions as not.[20] Many public buildings, civic basilicas, theatres etc, had played host to sacrifice and pagan ritual as part of everyday business.[21] Tombs were also important locations for family rituals such as feasting and libations. "Houses of the dead" were, along with "dwellings of gods", designated as *religio* and therefore set apart from everyday public space. Although the form of the festivals was different, both types of structure were dedicated and consecrated: temples normally as public holy places and tombs normally as private.[22] In such tombs, mere mortals could be celebrated after death as gods.

The notion that the dead were important also played a vital role in the development of early Christian architecture and enough examples survive to demonstrate that the conversion of heroa into churches was not uncommon. We see this for example at Comana in Cappadocia, the "Temple of Clitumnus" at Spoleto (Fig. 8), at the church on the island of Sikinos (Figs 25, 26), the church of Sant'Urbano outside Rome (Fig. 9), a church at Philippi and most probably also at Kadirli in Cilicia.[23] Although the dating of none of these conversions is known with any certainty, there are no indications that tombs were converted any earlier than temples and it may well be that in terms of their fate and Christian perceptions, there was little difference between them. This seems increasingly likely when we see how Christians merged the boundaries between their own tombs and churches, as a pagan topography of public temples and private tombs with separate festival structures was gradually replaced by a single calendar centred on churches that incorporated the relics of martyrs.[24]

Also in a structural sense it is sometimes difficult to distinguish tombs from temples. One of the most common forms of heroa, particularly in southern Asia Minor is widely known as a "temple-tomb", due to the fact that its composition is essentially that of a small temple *in antis*.[25] Thus, four of the examples given above have previously been mistaken by archaeologists as temple conversions. The form of their transformation is identical to that carried out on many temples *in antis*, which will be described in the next section.

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[20] In this study I use the term "secular" to apply to buildings for which the primary use was non-religious, whilst acknowledging that many supposedly "secular" structures also provided a context for ritual. On this issue see the cautionary comments of Cormack (2000, 5-6). I will be addressing the boundaries between "secular" and "ritual" in terms of temple function in Chapter 5.

[21] For example the Caesareum in Alexandria was a civil structure that functioned essentially as a centre for Imperial Cult and appears to have been converted for use as the Cathedral from around the middle of the 4th century (Bowman 1986, 207-8).

[22] MacCormack 1990, 8-12.

[23] Comana: Harper and Bayburtluoğlu 1968. Spoleto: Deichmann 1943. Sikinos: Frantz 1969. Sant'Urbano: Coates-Stephens, 1997 (p. 218). Philippi: Gregory 1986 (p. 237). Alacami, Kadirli: Bayliss 1997 and 1999b.

[24] Dagron 1977; MacCormack 1990.

[25] For a useful and concise general description with several example and references see Frantz 1969 (pp. 414-7); for a survey of the impressive temple-tombs of Elaiussa-Sebaste see Machatschek 1967.

The use of civic buildings and civic sites for the construction of churches appears to have begun in earnest from around the middle of the 4th century. It undoubtedly forms part of an emerging vocabulary of architectural re-utilisation that reaches its most extreme in the ransacking of ancient monuments for the hasty construction of city defences. Significantly, the widespread adaptation of temples into churches did not begin until probably a century later. These points provide us with an insight into the competition over these sacred places, which is something of a paradox. While legislation was promulgated in an attempt to preserve the integrity of the city's monuments from spoliation, the added incentive of the Christian pressure on pagan sites in no way precipitated the occupation of these sites. In fact the opposite is true and it appears that many pagan communities were able to protect their sacred buildings throughout the 4th century.

When a church builder planned a new foundation in the 4th century there were a number of restrictions imposed by legislation and logistics. Without significant reason the temples could not be considered as potential sites for development and still-functioning secular buildings could not be usurped in the name of the Church. Thus pious landowners modified space in their own buildings or estates, as Constantine himself had done in Rome. The Church could not launch an assault on the city centre, it could only infiltrate gradually when lots became available. This was the delicate balance that was held between pagan and Christian urban communities until the reign of Theodosius I. By the 380s the situation had changed with the development of a stronger identity for Christian orthodoxy and the beginnings in earnest of the usurpation of the sacred topography.

TEMPLE CONVERSIONS

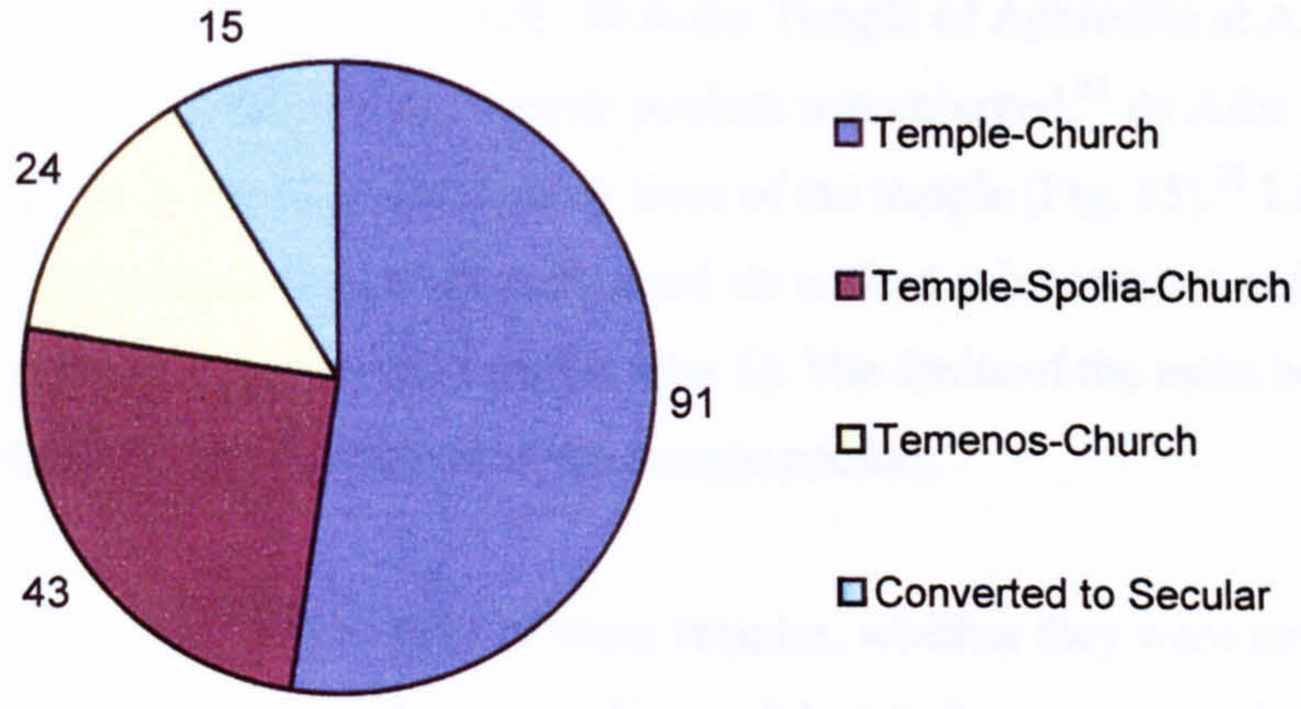
Logistics and Templates

Milojevič claims to have identified temple conversion in some three hundred sites in the Mediterranean region alone.[26] This gives the impression that temple conversion was standard practice, but a broader perspective reveals that it was more rare than has perhaps been imagined. It is impossible to quantify the proportion of temples that were actually converted into churches, since those that were not converted rarely survive.[27]

In this section I will examine the structural mechanics of converting the temple itself into a church, looking at how the different elements could be incorporated into the new building. As outlined earlier I have delineated three main scenarios of physical conversion (Chart 1, below):

- Temple-Churches: direct conversions involving the assumption of standing material from the pre-existing structure (Database Count = 91).
- Temenos-Churches: built within the temenos of a temple (Database Count = 24).
- Temple-*spolia*-churches: built from the material fabric of temples (Database Count = 43).[28]

Chart 1: Types of Temple Conversion



All three normally fall under the single colloquial term of "temple conversion". For reasons that will become clearer as the discussion progresses, we can achieve much by breaking down these definitions.

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[26] 1996, 254.

[27] One possible exception from Asia Minor is the Temple of Zeus Lepsynos at Euromos, which survives in an excellent state of preservation but with little evidence of Christian modification (Bean 1980, 25-8).

[28] The boundaries of this classification are blurred as many temenos-churches are also temple-*spolia*-churches and many temple-churches also contain a degree of relocated material.

We have already observed in the context of the conversion of civic buildings that flexibility in church morphology enabled new churches to be built from a great variety of architectural templates. Yet when faced with a temple site for conversion there were a number of problems posed by the architectural composition of a Graeco-Roman temple that would not easily be resolved for the new function.

Although various architectural differences exist between temples of different regions and in different periods, a few observations can be made on the generic temple form (Fig. 10).[29] An inner sanctum or cella, equivalent in terms of sacred space to the Christian chancel, formed the core of the structure. The cella in many temples was proportioned according to Vitruvius' recommendation of 4:5,[30] which was rather squat in proportions, compared to the more common longitudinal basilica space. Moreover in proportion to the temple as a whole, the scale of the cella was never exceptionally great, even in the grandest of temples. This presents the first problem for the church designer, which rather hinges on the intended function of the church and the size of its expected congregation. Only in the most substantial temples could the interior of a cella even come close in scale to the size of an average parochial establishment. Nevertheless we still find small cella, such as the Temple of Serapis at Ephesus (Fig. 14), adapted for a Christian congregation. When the cella is not reused in this way it was in most cases either removed, or very rarely modified to form the aisle divides of a larger church.

In Roman-period temples the cella was often raised by means of a podium or platform, fronted (or surrounded) by staircases giving access. Again the issue is one of scale, since the extents of the temple podium often dictated the size of the church. So at the Temple of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias (Fig. 51) and the Cathedral at Gerasa the existing temple podium was enlarged.[31] At Alba Fucens in Italy the church was extended over the large staircase in front of the temple (Fig. 15).[32] Likewise the narthex of the Temple of Zeus at Seleucia in Cilicia was raised on vaulted substructures and built over the grand staircase on the west side of the temple (see Chapter 6). The limits of the main body of the church were however defined by the dimensions of the temple podium.

Columns formed an essential component of many temples, whether they were employed as a surrounding peripteros or more simply as a device to elaborate the pronaos and provide a front porch. The peripteros was really the unique architectural identifier of a temple and Vitruvius expounded at great length to provide precise instructions and specifications on column height, form and spacing for

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[29] Lyttelton 1987.

[30] Vitruvius, IV. 4. 1.

[31] Cormack 1990b; Bikai and Egan 1997, p. 523-4, fig. 24; Browning 1982, 177.

[32] Mertens 1969; Delogu 1969; Vaes 1986, 333.

different types and scales of temple.[33] In this chapter we will examine in detail the various ways in which temple columns were incorporated into the church scheme.

In a pagan shrine the altar was usually situated at a distance in front of the temple. This was the ceremonial and ritual focus of the sacred space and was often the first target of Christian aggression against the temple estates.[34] Finally, where space permitted, most temples were enclosed within a precinct or temenos, which defined and protected the sacred place. Many precincts were bounded by colonnaded porticoes and filled with statuary. This was the congregational space of the temple, which often served the everyday prosaic as well as the sacred. The survival of the temenos after the construction of a church will also be discussed, with respect to methods by which it was incorporated into church building programmes.

Direct transformation (temple-churches)

In this first section I will discuss building schemes by which the *in situ* remains of temples were incorporated into churches. This will concern primarily the integration of the cella, peripteros and podium, which were the principal components of temples to influence the church design. Particular attention will be paid to the implications of a direct temple conversion on the superstructure of a temple, a highly significant issue that is almost invariably overlooked.

Milojevič has counted 83 sites where the cella of a temple was converted directly for inclusion within a church.[35] Most often the cella would simply become the church, with a minimum of modification. The columns of a peripteros were generally re-employed in one of three different ways. If the church was built within the cella they could survive as a portico (Fig. 11). In other situations they provided a framework for the exterior walls, in which case the cella would usually be removed, except in the Sicilian conversions, which will be discussed later (Fig. 12). Finally, in the "inverted transformation", the columns were reused as the aisle divides of the church, with the cella then dismantled and usually re-employed within the church walls (Fig. 13). From the first to the third of these scenarios the resultant church becomes progressively larger, in relation to the temple. In all of these solutions, it was the temple that to varying degrees dictated the form and appearance of the new church.

The Cella-Church

The creation of a church within the cella of a temple had a variety of significant structural and practical implications. The first was one of accommodation, as the congregation had to worship in a

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[33] Vitruvius, III.

[34] On the uses of the altar and its relationship with the *aedes* see Stambaugh 1979 (pp. 571-2).

[35] 1997, 347.

space designed to house usually just a single cult statue.[36] Improved access therefore appears to have been a major concern, not just in the provision of additional entrances but also to address the problematics of approaching these frequently elevated structures. So at Agrigento, the crepidoma of the Temple of Concord was modified with the addition of three shallower staircases (Fig. 45).[37]

The major structural implications in the transformation of the cella into a church concern the construction and integration of the apse and the provision of a roofing system. In a few instances of conversion no external modifications whatsoever were made to the temple cella, the apse was simply inscribed into the short wall of the chamber. For example in the Temple of Serapis at Ephesus (Fig. 14), the Temple of Dionysus at Miletos and the temple-tomb on the island of Sikinos (Figs 25, 26), a well-built cella provided a perfectly convenient outer shell for a small church or chapel.[38]

Structural modification for the construction of an apse largely depended on the orientation and scale of the temple. The existence of an east-facing pronaos or opisthodomos was particularly suitable, since these extensions to the cella allowed the apse to be tacked onto the *antae.* The pronaos served this function at the Hephaisteion and Erectheion in Athens (Fig. 16, 17.), at Bêt Djaluk in Phoenice (Fig. 18), in the Temple of Zeus at Aezani (Fig. 19) and at Notium in Asia Minor.[39] The apse could also simply be added outside the central eastern doorway, which subsequently functioned as a kind of monumental arch, as in the conversion of the Parthenon (Fig. 20).[40]

Alternatively, if the pronaos pointed westward, its columns could be walled up, and the whole incorporated into the main body of the church as at Vastogirardi (Fig. 21), or as a narthex as at Gortyn (Fig. 22) and at Bziza (Fig. 23).[41] In the Temple of Rome and Augustus at Ancyra the apse was tacked onto the east-facing opisthodomos and the pronaos was used as the porch (Figs 27, 28, 30).[42] The incorporation of pronaoi and opisthodomoi, whether in the east or west end of the church, also allowed the church to enclose a greater and more longitudinal space, thus providing a useful framework for temples with particularly squat *cellae*, for example at Vastogirardi (Fig. 21) and amphiprostyle temples like at Ancyra (Fig. 27).[43] This very simple solution to the conversion of a prostyle temple was never lost and reappears in 9th-century Rome in the conversion of the Temple of Portunus (Fig. 32), in the 17th century on the island of Sikinos (Fig. 25) and again in the 17th restoration of the

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[36] Krautheimer 1986.

[37] Trizzino 1980, 176-8; 1988, 28ff.

[38] Ephesus: Foss C. 1979, 64. Miletos: Müller-Wiener 1988, 279-90, with refs. Sikinos: Frantz, Thomson et al. 1969.

[39] Athens: Frantz 1965, 202-3. Bêt Djaluk: Krencker and Zschietzschmann 1938, 102-4; Deichmann 1939, 116. Aezani: Naumann 1979. Notium: Mitchell 1999, 148.

[40] Deichmann 1938-9.

[41] Gortyn: Sanders 1982, 79, 108. Vastogirardi: Vaes 1986, 332.

[42] Krencker and Schede 1936; Foss 1977, 65-6.

[43] Vaes 1986; Krencker and Schede 1936.

Church of Sant'Urbano in the Campania (Fig. 9), which had been converted into a church in the 9th or 10th century.[44]

Small temples with single entrances were usually either fitted with inscribed apses as described above, or were extended by the removal of the back wall, as at Deir il-Meshquq in Syria (Fig. 33).[45] In peripteral temples the podium to the rear of the cella provided a suitable foundation for the apse, but if the temple lacked a peripteros, a projecting apse from the cella required a separate foundation. In the Temple of Rome and Augustus at Ancyra the tacked-on apse was extended even beyond the peripteros, requiring a substantial foundation that also was to contain a crypt (Figs 27, 30).[46] From an engineering perspective the construction of an apse in this way was no more complex than it would have been for a new church; in basilica construction an apse relied solely on the foundations for structural support and the adjacent walls bear little load. The removal of the cross-wall or back wall of a temple would however have compromised the stability of the structure as a whole, particularly because it was not common practice to tie the apse walls into the pre-existing structure. When the cross-walls were removed in this way, scars often remained where they were previously bonded to the side walls, as can be seen in the Temple of Zeus at Aezani and the Temple of Rome and Augustus at Ancyra (Fig. 29). At the apse end it was also often necessary to replace the columns that formed an integral part of the porch with a single arch, with implications particularly for the upper portions of the cella. At the well-preserved Hephaisteion in Athens the compromises required for this operation were painfully visible.[47]

Due to the restrictions of space in this conversion type, the church was often built without aisles, although the Temple of Rome and Augustus at Ancyra would appear to have been at least one exception.[48] In larger *cellae* aisles could be constructed within the structure, for example in the conversion of the temple of Apollo at Gortyn on Crete (Fig. 22) and perhaps also in the Temple of Zeus at Aezani (Fig. 19).[49] Occasionally a temple cella was already equipped with longitudinal divisions, which the church was able to reuse in the construction of aisle divides, as evidenced at the

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[44] See n. 23.

[45] Butler 1907, 2.

[46] This was a common solution which allowed the cella to be used solely for the nave of the church and is found especially where the cella is particularly small or squat, for example in the conversion of a Gallo-Roman *fanum* at Anthée (Vaes 1986, p. 330, fig. 57). Ancyra: Krencker and Schede 1936; Foss 1977, 65-6; the temple columns had probably collapsed by the time of the conversion.

[47] Frantz 1965, 203.

[48] Foss 1977, 65-6. Another example might be the possible converted temple, later transformed into the Great Mosque at Hama (Fig. 66) (Creswell 1959).

[49] Gortyn: Sanders 1982, 79, 108.

Parthenon (Fig. 20).[50] This provision also made tripartite Capitolia particularly attractive for the church builders and Vaes lists several such examples. These are mostly found in the West, but Vaes also references the site at Henchir Khima in North Africa, where a temple *in antis* with flanking chambers is employed as the chancel and side-chambers of a Christian basilica (Fig. 34). The tripartite Tychaion at Mesmiyeh in provincial Arabia was also transformed in a similar way.[51]

In most conversion scenarios it was entirely possible that the original roof could be maintained, if it survived. However so few temple churches survive with their superstructures intact, that it is hard to make general statements. By the time the Hephaisteion in Athens was converted, sometime in the 6th or 7th century, the existing roof had probably either collapsed or was already heavily damaged, since the cella was re-roofed with a barrel vault, built on top of the existing walls (Fig. 16).[52] Peripteral temple roofs were however designed to span the entire area of the peripteros within which the cella was situated. Hence a church that occupied solely the cella of a peripteral temple, like the Hephaisteion in Athens, the Temple of Rome and Augustus in Ancyra and the Temple of Zeus at Aezani required a new roof over the cella. This affected the overall proportions of the converted temple, in the sense that cella walls would either have to be lowered, or the church roof inserted within the walls at a lower level. This vertical problem was heightened if the apse was built inside the cella as it further reduced the available space for the church nave. However in the conversion of the two cited examples in Athens and Ancyra, the church extended longitudinally beyond the short ends of the cella, perhaps thereby compensating for this disproportion. Prostyle temples were typically at least as tall as they were broad, so in some conversions it appears that their walls were lowered, with the removed material being used elsewhere in the church, for example at Deir il-Meshquq (Fig. 33) and Qal'at Kalota (Figs 37, 38) in Syria.[53]

Most *cellae* were essentially windowless structures. This had the effect of emphasising the cult statue when lit only from the open doorways. So when a church was built within a cella some consideration had to be given to the provision of windows. The construction of clerestories on top of the cella walls appears to have been avoided, since this would have created a vertically over-proportioned interior space in most cases. In some direct temple conversions it seems that the church was left as a windowless structure, yet too few temples are sufficiently preserved to allow us to fully understand the architectural response to this issue. In the Temple of Rome and Augustus in Ancyra, a series of small

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[50] The interior colonnades of the Workshop of Pheidias at Olympia were ignored by the later church either because they were no longer surviving or because they did not extend the full length of the building's interior (Mallwitz and Schiering 1964, pp. 16-47, pls 3-5, 12-13).

[51] Lassus 1947, 246; Deichmann 1939, 120.

[52] Travlos 1971, 262; Camp 1992, fig. 187. There is an argument however for a much later, perhaps Middle Byzantine date for the vault (Frantz 1965, 204-5).

[53] Butler 1907, 129-31; 1920, 319-22.

arched windows were cut into the cella walls (Fig. 30) and five windows opened through the walls of the cella of the Temple of Portunus in Rome (Fig. 32).[54]

A church built within the cella of a peripteral temple usually preserved the surrounding columns as a kind of portico. Thus the ptera of the temple could then continue to serve one of their most popular functions, as shelter from the elements. This function is highlighted at Sardis in the construction of a small church (Church M) just to the east of the peripteros of the Temple of Artemis, which reused the south pteron as a courtyard (Fig. 35).[55] This is perhaps an indication that the temple may still have been roofed, even though it had long since been abandoned.

It is clear that there was considerable flexibility in the incorporation of these relatively small and versatile chambers into churches. Vaes lists three contrasting examples where a temple cella is employed as nave and aisles (Anthée, Saint-Remi), as a narthex or a counter-apse (Simdj, Northern Syria (Fig. 36)) and as the apse itself (Stone-by-Faversham), although the latter is more likely to be a mausoleum than a temple.[56] At Thurburbo Majus and Sufetula in Africa Byzacium, the temple cella was preserved for use as a baptistery, when a church was built within its associated precinct (Figs 60, 61).[57] At Qal'at Kalota in Northern Syria, the walls of two prostyle temples were incorporated into a church (Figs 37, 38). Similarly, two standing prostyle temples also provided much of the fabric for the church at Maiyamas in Southern Syria, where it seems that one was employed as a chancel and the other perhaps as a narthex (Fig. 39).[58]

At Umm el-Jimal, the so-called "Julianos Church" was built within a late antique residence, which had itself incorporated the remains of what appears to be a prostyle temple (Fig. 40).[59] It is unclear whether the structure of the temple was modified either during the construction of the house, or later when the church was built. However its remains were incorporated into the church in a way that suggests that the form of the temple significantly influenced the layout of the later building. The triple entrance to the cella was reused within the south wall of the church, providing access from a courtyard to the

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[54] Ancyra: Krencker and Schede 1936, pl. 17. Foss (1977, 65-6) has suggested that these might be later. Rome: Coates-Stephens 1997, 216-7.

[55] Two small columns situated some 25m west of the main door to the church indicate its extent (Butler 1912, 1922; Hanfmann 1961, 54; Foss 1976, 48; Hanfmann 1983, 192ff).

[56] Vaes 1986, 330, figs 58-59. Simdj: Butler 1907, 108-9; 1969, 119. The interpretation of the original Roman structure at Stone-by-Faversham as a temple was not questioned in the "re-assessment" of the structure in 1981 (Taylor and Yonge 1981), although Thomas' contemporary publication suggests a more convincingly interpretation as a mausoleum (1981).

[57] Duval 1973; Teichner 1996; Milojevič 1997, 351-2. This was also the case with the converted temple at Jebel Oust, although in this case the church was built outside the precinct, which unlike the other examples was occupied by a spring (Duval 1973). For further examples of small *cellae* converted into baptisteries see Teichner 1996 (pp. 57-8).

[58] Qal'at Kalota: Butler 1920, 319-22. Maiyumas: Vaes 1986, 330; Butler 1907, 326-9, fig. 299.

[59] Corbett 1957.

south, through a portico formed by the extension of the four columns of the pronaos. A rear chamber of the temple was also incorporated into the north side of the church as part of an extended vestibule.

The size, proportions and orientation of the temple cella were therefore the major influences on the modifications required to accomplish conversion to a church. In the majority of cases some structural alterations were undertaken, whether it was the insertion of an inscribed apse, the removal of a wall for the construction of a projecting apse or the erection of new cross-walls. This usually required a new roofing scheme, even if the existing superstructure still survived. Rarely was the cella left untouched in a temple conversion, with a notable exception in the Temple of Apollo at Didyma (Figs 41-3). This was of such scale that the first church on the site was built entirely within the cella and had no actual physical relationship to the temple, except that the naiskos that had formerly held the cult statue was incorporated into the west end of the church.[60]

The cella-church was without doubt the most widespread but least ambitious method of converting a temple into a church. At the same time however it often resulted in a structure that was relatively unobtrusive, so it is the form of temple conversion that creates the greatest sense of visual continuity between temple and church.

The Internalised Cella

The component of a temple that created the most dramatic conversions was the temple peripteros. Its incorporation into the new construction did not only have both structural and aesthetic implications but also in many cases, like the cella-church, it presented a visual recollection of the temple in the new building. Vaes asserts that intact peripteroi in secular conversions as well as temples, were incorporated into the transformed building at every opportunity. This appears to be fairly well attested in the archaeological and historical evidence even from the earliest times.[61] The small churches built within the complex multi-chambered hypostyle temples at Denderah and Abydos in Thebais noticeably occupied halls already divided by colonnades.[62] To take an historical example, after the destruction of the Sanctuary of Asklepios at Aigeai in Cilicia under Constantine or Constantius II, it was the columns of the temple that were stolen for use in the nave of a local church. Moreover it was the return of these elements that was later demanded by the emperor Julian, although it proved

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[60] Wiegand 1924; Robert 1960; Fontenrose 1988, 25; Müller-Wiener 1961.

[61] Vaes 1990, 17 (with examples from secular monuments).

[62] Milojevič 1997, figs 8, 9.

impossible to get them through the church doors.[63] Columns it seems, were a priceless commodity in late antique construction.[64]

In addition to its use as a porch discussed in the previous section, the temple peripteros was used in a basilica either as the dividing colonnade between nave and aisles (Fig. 13), or as a framework for the construction of the exterior walls (Fig. 12).[65] The latter case, involving the blocking of the intercolumniations was not only fairly straightforward in a structural sense, but the overall effect had long been seen as aesthetically appealing and had been employed widely in antiquity as the pseudo-peripteral temple.[66] Also the blocking of intercolumniations was clearly a known technique and was not restricted to the conversion of temples. The portico columns of the huge civic basilica at Cremna for example were also walled up in the same way to enclose the interior space for its new role as a church (Fig. 7).[67]

In any conversion of a peripteral temple in which the church occupied an area larger than the temple cella, the latter was almost invariably removed. The exceptions are two late 6th or early 7th century Sicilian examples in which the cella was modified to form the nave arcades: the conversion of the Temple of Athena at Syracuse (Fig. 44) and probably the Church of San Lorenzo Vecchio near Pachino.[68] Despite its late date and rarity, this form is probably the most celebrated of all temple-conversion scenarios since it involved the incorporation of the entire fabric of the temple into the church. The roofing system, the peripteros and the cella could all theoretically be preserved *in situ*. The fact that it was far from the most common form of conversion implies that few temples were in a sufficient state of preservation at the time of transformation to allow the incorporation of all these elements.

The mechanics of this conversion form were minimal. At Syracuse the intercolumniations of the peripteros were walled up and columns at the east end were dismantled to make way for the apse. The east and west walls of the cella were removed and arches were cut into the long sides to form the aisle divides. The same scenario has been argued in the past for the less well-preserved temple conversions

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[63] Chuvin 1990, 33-4; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 36; Julian, *Ep.* 29.

[64] When the mithraeum at the Walbrook (London) was temporarily abandoned in the early 4th century, its interior columns were quickly removed, although the rest of the structure remained relatively intact for the subsequent redevelopment of the site (Shepherd 1998, 227ff).

[65] Examples of blocked intercolumniations include the Temple of Augustus and Livia at Vienna, described by Milojevič (1997, pp. 348-9, pl. 3).

[66] For example the temple of Allat-Athena at Palmyra (Gawlikowski 1977; Gassowska 1982).

[67] Mitchell 1995.

[68] Pachino: Agnello 1948. Syracuse: Guido 1958, 36-43. It is now believed that similar alterations to the "Temple of Concord" at Agrigento (Fig. 45) were actually part of the later baroque redevelopment of the structure (Trizzino 1980; 1988, 34ff).

at Diocaesarea and Seleucia in Cilicia (see Chapter 6). However, in the former example at least it appears that the cella was dismantled and provided material for the intercolumniation blocking.[69] This technique involved considerably more structural alteration than the Sicilian examples. At Diocaesarea, the entire roofing system, including the pediments of the short sides and the architraves were removed, leaving simply the columns standing as the framework for the basilica walls and supporting a cruder cornice for the new roofing system (Fig. 84).

The conversion of the "Temple of Concord" at Agrigento in around 596 is a significant variation on this theme (Fig. 45).[70] Here a small church was constructed within the pronaos of the temple and extending out to the line of the eastern peripteros. This was however enclosed within a broader rectangle formed by blocking the intercolumniations of the eastern half of the peripteros, with a western wall constructed across the cella. Although the church itself only occupied a small portion of the temple, Trizzino has shown how all areas of this structure were redefined. The ptera in the western half of the church functioned as places for burial. The area of the cella outside the new western cross-wall could have served as an exonarthex, east of which lay a small narthex, beyond a single opening in the new cross-wall. A small passageway led east between the original towers and into the pronaos, which had been converted into a three-aisled church essentially following the lines of the surviving columns. This division was continued into a tripartite sanctuary from which access could be made into the flanking parekklesiae, occupying the eastern end of the north and south ptera.

Evidence from Rome again points to the longevity of the principals espoused in late antique temple conversions, particularly with regard to the reuse of columns. The 11th-century conversion of the three republican victory-temples on the Forum Holitorium into the west-facing Church of S. Nicola in Carcere presents only a slight modification to the type discussed in this section.[71] In its external appearance it seems superficially as if a single peripteros has been incorporated into the exterior walls of the church until the observation is made that the columns in the north wall are of the Ionic order and those in the south wall are Doric (Figs 46, 47). This complicated arrangement was only made possible through the incorporation of all three temples into the new monument (Fig. 48). The central temple was completely internalised within the church with the foundations of its cella marking the lines of the aisle divides. The adjacent temples then lent their nearest colonnades to the north and south walls of the church. This church epitomises the craft of exploiting pre-existing remains for load-bearing purposes: the exterior walls and the aisle divides all occupied for the most part the lines of temple components. Even the small south chapel was clearly influenced by the extent and surviving podium of the south temple. It is clear from the surviving columns within the basilica walls that the temples

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[69] The temple-church at Elaiussa-Sebaste may also perhaps be included in this category, as I will argue in Chapter 6.

[70] Trizzino 1980, 1988.

[71] Steinby 1995, 299. Contr. Milojevič (1997, 350), the Cathedral at Syracuse is not the only still-functioning temple conversion, if S. Nicola in Carcere is included.

were not in an excellent state of preservation but this did not prevent even half-columns being incorporated as far as possible.

The alluring possibilities of reusing a temple peripteros are perhaps also revealed in the interesting relationship between two temples and a church at Side in Pamphylia (Figs 49, 50).[72] The adjacent temples to Apollo and Athena dominated the vista of this famous harbour in antiquity. In the 5th or 6th century a large basilica was built slightly to the east. It featured a massive and oversized atrium that appears to be dictated, both in scale and positioning, by the temple remains, although the condition of the temples at this time is not clear. The north temple is enclosed entirely within the atrium, just inside its north wall, which features internal and external exedra. The west end was left open to the sea front. The south temple lies across and is respected by the south wall of the atrium, which was also equipped with exedra. Given that the south wall of the atrium does not continue across the temple we must assume that the surviving remains of the temple prevented it from doing so. The most likely explanation for this is that part or all of the peripteros was actually re-employed within the church as a monumental propyleum: the principal entrance to the west end of the church.[73] Certainly the only other apparent means of accessing the church was either a tiny door in the north end of the narthex or from the open end on the water's edge. Here then we see a temple peripteros taking on a new function, that in a similar way to previously mentioned examples, employs the temple columns in a productive and efficient way, in order to give an added splendour to a church building without great expense.

The Inverted Transformation

There was significant contrast between the spatial utilisation of public temples and churches. In a temple the community space was normally the immediate vicinity or the precinct of the structure, not the monument itself. It comes as no surprise then, that in most cities the Christian basilicas often dwarfed their pagan predecessors, since the congregation was accommodated within the building. In temple conversions, the "inverted transformation" appears as a method of increasing the size of the structure for the purposes of conversion to a church, but with as little actual modification as possible. This conversion scenario really only applies to temples equipped with a peripteros, which is re-employed within the church as the colonnades of the aisle divides (Fig. 13). There are only three examples of this conversion type, the Temple of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias in Caria (Fig. 51), the Temple of Apollo Klarios and the Emperors at Sagalassos in Pisidia (Fig. 52) and a possible third at Karthaia on Chios (Fig. 53).[74] Only at Aphrodisias can we be certain that the peripteral columns remained *in situ* in the conversion.

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[72] Mansel 1963; Foss 1996, 39.

[73] George Bean suggested that the precinct had simply not been completed on this side, but this explanation is too simplistic given the grandeur of the church (Bean 1976, 836).

[74] Aphrodisias: Cormack 1990b. Sagalassos: Mitchell and Waelkens 1989, 70-73; Waelkens, Mitchell et al. 1990, 185-90; Waelkens 1993b, 45. Karthaia: Graindor 1905, 333-5; Vaes 1986, 329.

A conversion that internalised the peripteros required specific structural considerations and modifications to be made. The temple peripteros formed a rectangle and therefore was equipped with a surplus of columns on the short flanks that were at least partially removed for the construction of the basilica. At Aphrodisias these extra columns from the short sides of the octastyle peripteros were relocated on extended foundations at the east ends of the two long sides of the temple.[75] This considerably lengthened the resultant nave colonnade to 21 columns for the construction of the basilica and also necessitated the extension of the temple podium to the east in the form of a substantial platform.[76] This extension enabled the church builders to incorporate a marble well-head as an interior feature of the church, which may have been the sacred well referred to by Pausanias, originally lying outside the temple.[77] Whether the presence of the well was an influence on the temple conversion is not known.

With the external peripteros of the temple acting in a church as internal divisions, it was inevitable that the cella would be dismantled, since it could have had no conceivable internal function in the nave of the new church.[78] As with many temple-*spolia*-churches, the surviving cella masonry was therefore reused in the construction of the basilica walls. Where dismantling of the cella was undertaken specifically for the church construction this appears to have been a very systematic operation, as we shall see later in the discussion of temple-*spolia*-churches.

Although similarities are often drawn between the conversion of the Temple of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias and the Temple of Apollo Klarios at Sagalassos, the mechanics of the latter are slightly different. The excavators of Sagalassos have never made it clear whether they believed the columns of the Temple of Apollo Klarios were moved in any way for the conversion. The peripteros, they claimed, comprised 11 x 6 columns and was therefore considerably smaller than the Temple of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias. From the published plan of the church it is clear that some if not all of the columns were relocated, as the space between the colonnades is too narrow to allow the six columns of the short sides (Fig. 52). It seems therefore that unlike Aphrodisias, the temple at Sagalassos may well have been either dismantled in its entirety or had already collapsed by the time of the church construction.

This may also be have been the case for the church excavated at Karthaia on Chios (Fig. 53), which comprised the remains of a narthex and the low remains of two colonnades forming aisle divides, to

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[75] Cormack 1990b; Smith and Ratté 2000, 227-230.

[76] Erim 1986, 166; Cormack 1990a, 1990b; Smith 1996, 43.

[77] Pausanias I. 26.6; Erim 1986, 56-7.

[78] See the exception of the Temple of Baalshamîn at Palmyra below, p. 91.

the eastern end of which an apse was attached.[79] Vaes suggested that this church resulted from a conversion similar to those at Aphrodisias and Sagalassos, but this was by no means clear from the excavation report. In the first instance, although all of the columns are certainly from older structures, there were at least three different types identified. Only the 6 opposing Doric columns (3 in each colonnade; no.'s 1-6) might have been *in situ*, perhaps from a temple, although again the short distance between the colonnades (c. 5m) would seem to rule out this out. The high number of votive inscriptions to a variety of deities found during the excavation suggests that the pre-existing structure was indeed a temple, but it seems unlikely that any of this survives *in situ*.

A final consideration in the inverted transformation is the arrangement of the upper stories of the new church. Most temple columns were generally too tall for the requirements of even the largest basilica aisles. Even at Diocaesarea where the columns were built into the outer walls of the basilica, they had to be significantly reduced in height (Figs 73, 84). The exception might be found in the Church of St Michael at Aphrodisias, a basilica of massive proportions (Fig. 66).[80] The existence of galleries in this conversion is suggested by the presence of a staircase outside the south wall of the church. However the absence of sockets in the temple columns that formed the aisles suggests that the galleries were not situated within the vertical extent of these columns.[81] The most appropriate explanation for this is that the balustrades of the galleries were situated on top of the temple columns. It is possible then that the church was not equipped with a clerestory, as galleries windows were often seen as suitable alternatives to the provision of lighting via a clerestory.

Of all the temple-conversion scenarios described so far in this chapter, the inverted transformation requires the greatest alteration to the fabric of the temple. In terms of visual effect on the urban topography, the inverted transformation is high-impact (Fig. 66). The churches of Sagalassos and Aphrodisias were enormous compared to the preceding temples and dominated their respective urban topographies. However it must be conceded that unlike the cella-churches and the Sicilian conversions, the "inverted transformation" is hardly convincing as a temple conversion type, as only at Aphrodisias are elements retained *in situ*.

The conversion scenario undertaken at the Temple of Baalshamîn at Palmyra was one of the most unusual and without doubt the most difficult to classify. It is however worth discussing at this point since it encapsulates elements of all three conversion types.[82] The conversion of this tetrastyle prostyle

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[79] Graindor 1905.

[80] Recent archaeological work has been carried out on the temple-church by Laura Herbert, as part of a PhD thesis (*in progress*, New York University).

[81] See the description of the Temple of Zeus at Diocaesarea (Cilicia) in Chapter 6, for columns with sockets to support galleries.

[82] Collart and Vicari 1969, 76-94.

temple resulted in a church that was much larger than its predecessor, but which retained the entire structure of the temple within its design (Figs 54, 55). A square apse with side-chambers was constructed outside the pronaos and a doorway was inserted into the back wall of the cella to allow access from a colonnaded narthex. The north wall of the church took its extents from a colonnaded porch flanking the temple and the south wall was built out to a similar distance. The net result was essentially a five-aisled basilica, broader than it was long, with the only access from the nave to the aisles being through the pronaos of the temple. Collart struggled to come to terms with its functionality and it was undoubtedly a clumsy and disarticulated interior. However the preserved cella projecting above the roofs of the aisles strikes a familiar chord with contemporary churches in the region, characterised by square apses, low aisles and clerestory roofs (Fig. 56).

Issues of Orientation

Orientation was a major concern in the construction of early Christian churches and perhaps stimulated more necessary modification in temples than any other factor.[83] The 4th century Apostolic Constitutions, composed in the East, recommended that the head of the church building should point eastwards.[84] Constantinian basilicas were mostly west facing, yet by the time of most temple conversions the importance of directing the focus of worship to the east was well established. Although the orientation of temples had little cultic significance,[85] Vitruvius recommends that the approach to a temple should be made from the west, so that in placing offerings, making sacrifices or taking vows at the altar, the people faced towards the rising sun, from which the cult statue within the temple was seen to emerge. There was however a good deal of flexibility according to environmental constraints, topographical situation and the existence of proximate foci such as rivers or pre-existing approach roads.[86] The preference was however for the temple to be built on an east-west alignment, which presented an ideal template for the temple converters, whichever way the entrance faced.
A westerly approach system in the pre-existing site was by far the most adaptable to the Christian needs, particularly if the temenos and the surrounding street system were also to function as part of the new design scheme. Thus when the cella itself was adapted, the apse was normally installed in its east end and the entrance from the west preserved.

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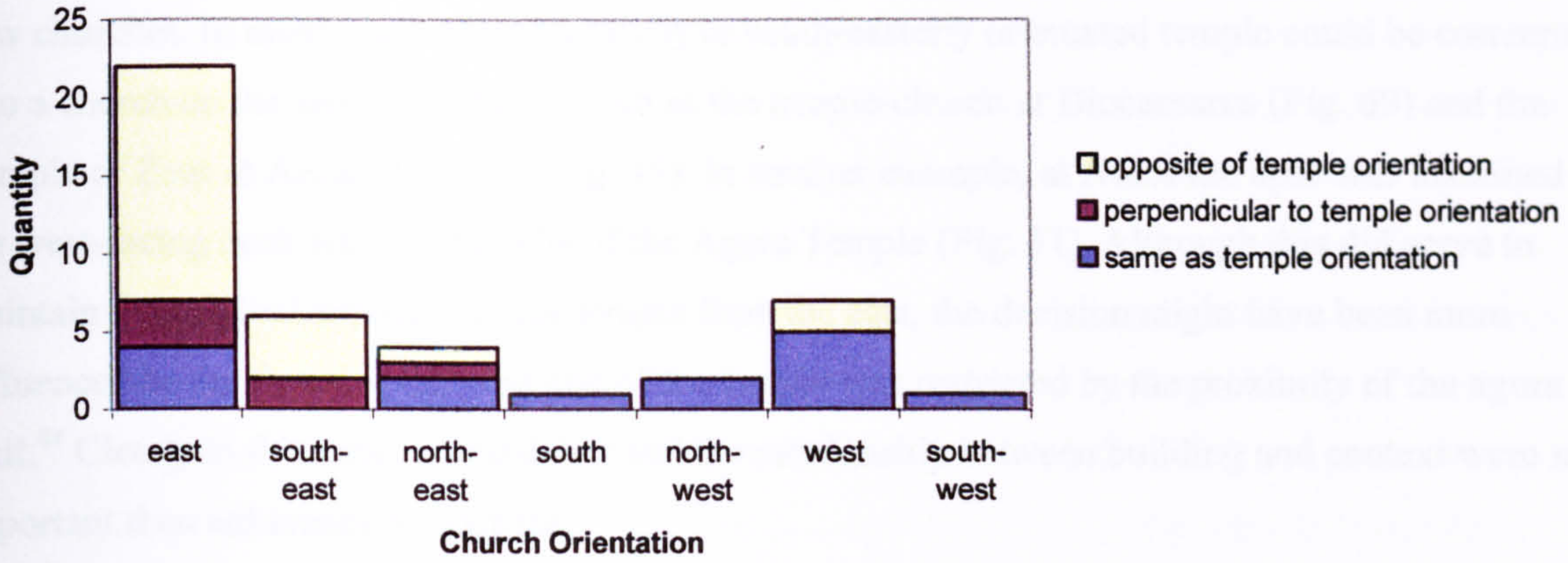
[83] For the significance of church alignment see references listed in Kleinbauer 1992 (pp. 111-3).

[84] Ante-Nicene Fathers VII, *Apostolic Constitutions* II, VII 57; Mâle 1960, 54.

[85] Lane Fox 1988, 168-70; Price 1984; Stambaugh 1979, 563-4.

[86] Vitruvius, IV 5.

Chart 2: Church orientation relative to temple orientation in temple conversion



However as Chart 2 shows, a large proportion of converted temples actually had their original entrances to the east (east facing church on x-axis, opposite to temple orientation). This reflects the large quantity of temple-churches in which an apse was built into the pronaos *antae*. The opisthodomos of the temple, if one existed, could in such cases be opened out for use as the main church entrance. This large proportion of temples with east facing entrances, found in temple conversions, appears in contradiction with Vitruvius' recommendations. Rather than simply accepting that his architectural laws were not heeded, this trend might indicate a prevailing inclination for east-facing temples in conversion scenarios.

By the time of the first direct temple conversions the tradition of easterly-orientated apses had already been well established. This stipulation was taken so seriously in some places that some churches equipped with western apses appear to have been modified. The temenos-church in the Temple of Jupiter at Baalbek was originally built with a western apse, presumably in order to maintain a direct approach route through the propyleum from the main street (Fig. 58). Sometime later the western apse was removed and an apse and sacristies were added at the east end of the church, cutting through the steps of the temple. This confounded the articulation of the site as a whole, yet conformed to the constitutions imposed.[87]

Worthy of note is the bizarre arrangement of the church at Bziza in the Lebanon, in which an apse is inscribed at an angle within the cella (Fig. 23). This ensured that the church could be constructed with an easterly orientation inside the north-west to south-east oriented temple. The proximity of this site to Baalbek may indicate a period of particular strictness over church orientation in this region, which perhaps deserves further investigation.

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[87] Such later modifications are also attested at a church at Souk el-Oti in Tripolitania, although here the eastern apse was added within the nave of the west-facing church (Mattingly 1995, 212, fig. 11:4).

Adherence to the easterly orientation appears to have been subject to variation between different regions and cities, in many cases perhaps to minimise the necessary modifications. There was clearly more flexibility regarding orientation in building conversions than there was in the construction of new churches. In most cases a north-easterly or south-easterly orientated temple could be converted into a church on the same orientation such as the temple-church at Diocaesarea (Fig. 69) and the Temple of Zeus at Aezani (Chart 2, Fig. 19). In another example, at Assos the apse was inscribed into the west-facing back wall of the cella of the Agora Temple (Fig. 31). Although this did serve to maintain the original approach to the temple from the east, the decision might have been more influenced by the fact that the west end of the temple was restricted by the proximity of the agora wall.[88] Clearly in this case, accessibility and the relationship between building and context were more important than adherence to doctrine.

The types of temple conversion discussed so far only appear to have been undertaken when the church was constructed on the same axis as the temple. When the temple approximated a north-south orientation it was necessary for the church to be built at a perpendicular, a situation that rarely allowed a direct temple conversion. One exception is the Temple of Serapis at Ephesus where the apse was actually inscribed into the long side wall of the cella in order to affect an easterly orientation (Fig. 14). Another is the late 9th century conversion of the Temple of Portunus in Rome, although in this case the resultant church was simply built with a north-south orientation in accordance with the temple. Fortunately for the church builders, temples oriented on a north-south axis were something of a rarity.

Temples built on an east-west axis were readily transferable to Christian structures, whether the church was built inside the cella, incorporating the peripteros, or enveloping the whole monument. The orientation of the temple and the position of the principal openings had a clear impact on the resultant church, as in some cases did the immediate context of the temple and its existing monumental approaches.

Indirect transformation

Temple-*Spolia*-Churches

Many churches were built on the sites of razed temples and usually from their predecessors' fabric. While historical sources rarely mention the actual conversion of a temple, they regularly reported the construction of churches after the destruction of temples as we have already seen in Chapter 2.[89] It is however rarely clear from the historical sources whether the churches reputed to have been built on the sites of destroyed temples, actually either occupied exactly the same site, or indeed reused any

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[88] Deichmann 1939, p. 129, fig. 12; Akurgal 1978, 64-5.

[89] Many examples are listed in Vaes 1986 (p. 260, n. 1).

materials from their predecessor. As we shall see, the mechanics of temple-*spolia*-churches are better illuminated through archaeological examples.

Dismantling a temple for the purpose of constructing a church was a regular occurrence, particularly if the temple had not been maintained and even more so if it had suffered damage through either human or natural means (see Chapter 2). Poorly maintained and abandoned temples could become a rich source of building material for the late antique city. So we find for example at Hierapolis Castabala in Cilicia that a single structure, perhaps the Temple of Artemis Perasia, provided much of the masonry for two approximately contemporary churches built in different parts of the city (see Chapter 6). Some evidence suggests though that the preparation of material from a temple for a new purpose may have been a highly ordered process. In the case of the temples of Antoninus Pius at Sagalassos and of Zeus at Cyrene it has been observed that after the collapse or dismantlement of the temples the material was laid out in an orderly fashion in preparation for use elsewhere. At Cyrene the columns were placed adjacent to the temple, with one drum actually found in the process of being reshaped to a smaller gauge.[90]

There are good reasons for this, which may also suggest that the material from these temples was often not merely being used piecemeal for projects around the city, but was intended for a specific purpose that required the original relative positioning of the masonry to be maintained. In order to construct the highly finished quadratic masonry facades of the temples, individual blocks had been carefully worked prior to their final positioning and so once the building was complete, there was really only one way of putting the blocks together. Quadratic masonry appears superficially at least to be entirely regular, but in reality there are many subtle variations. It is often the case therefore that large portions of a temple cella were rebuilt within the church in positions that reflected their original temple situations. So at both the Corycian Cave (see Chapter 6) and the Temple of Apollo Klarios at Sagalassos, the corners of the cella were relocated to form the corners of the church (Fig. 52).

Also at Sagalassos, cella blocks from another temple surviving in the walls of Basilica E1 bear a Greek numbering system, unparalleled in any of the contemporary architecture in the city. This has been attributed to the process of reconstruction, allowing the builders to dismantle the temple and to re-assemble the blocks in their correct relative locations.[91] This technique is evidenced elsewhere in late antique contexts. In the restoration of the Parthenon, dated by Travlos to the 4th century, a lettering system was employed to ensure the correct relative repositioning of *spolia* blocks from a different structure.[92] This evidence would seem to contradict the widely held belief that the

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[90] Sagalassos: Waelkens, Mitchell et al. 1990, 190. Cyrene: Goodchild, Reynolds et al. 1958.

[91] Vandeput 1993, 93ff.

[92] Travlos 1971, 444-5.

arrangement of temple *spolia* within churches was essentially "asymmetrical".[93] Saradi's suggestion that *spolia* was employed specifically with the intention of producing distinctive textural variability in structures has some merit, but is clearly questionable in the case of the clifftop temple at the Corycian Cave (see Chapter 6).[94]

Of course many churches were actually larger than their predecessors, so it was not simply a matter of rebuilding a temple in a new configuration, as more material was required to complete the new construction. So Basilica E1 at Sagalassos was built from the remains of three or four different buildings. It was probably constructed on the site of a temple dedicated to Dionysus and included some of the remains of the former structure, but this clearly needed to be supplemented with other locally derived material, such as frieze blocks from the Temple of Antoninus Pius.[95] At the Corycian Cave in Cilicia, material from the pre-existing temple was employed consistently throughout the lower courses of the north and west walls, but stocks were clearly insufficient so the upper storey was built with smaller blocks probably cut fresh for the work (Fig. 117).

Larger temples, particularly those built on podia, may well have been able to provide sufficient material for the new construction. As already noted, the cella of the Temple of Apollo Klarios at Sagalassos was effectively exploded in plan to form parts of the north and west walls of the larger basilica (Fig. 52). However, the rest of the material for the church had to be acquired from other remains of this peripteral temple. Although most of the architraves were used inside the church, on top of the relocated columns, others found new uses as door jambs for openings in the exterior walls. Other blocks from the peripteros entablature, including pieces of the sima, frieze and gable, were reused throughout the walls of the church to supplement the material from the cella. In addition the crepis blocks of the temple podium provided a rich source of material and were noted in the lower courses of both the west and south walls.[96]

Comparing the conversion of the Temple of Apollo Klarios at Sagalassos and the Clifftop Temple at the Corycian Cave, we see two slightly different solutions to the incorporation of a temple cella of similar size (about 12 x 8m). In both cases efforts were made to incorporate the walls within their original compositions. At Sagalassos the large peripteral temple probably provided the majority of the material for a new and substantial basilica. Even though the church at the Corycian Cave was smaller, the relative paucity of available material from what must have been a fairly small prostyle temple with no podium is striking. The fabric of the church was thus supplemented by the addition of much new material and also by reusing the wall of temple temenos as the south wall for the basilica. The

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[93] Saradi-Mendelovici 1990, 52.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Vandeput 1993.

[96] Waelkens, Mitchell et al. 1990, 185-90.

comparison of these two structures is enlightening and is due entirely to the careful architectural studies that have been carried out on them.

The use of temple-*spolia* was therefore often far from a random process.[97] At Qal'at Kalota in Northern Syria for example, both the partial standing remains and the *spolia* from two temples were used in the construction of the church (Figs 37, 38).[98] The architraves from the temples provided the church with a base moulding and a cornice, while massive Corinthian columns were reduced in height and used in the church nave, although there were clearly insufficient available so half the nave columns were newly sought.

The remnants of pagan temples are found in the fabric of churches all over the eastern Mediterranean. This is particularly evident in regions where many temples appear to have suffered through either demolition or early abandonment, such as Northern Syria and Illyricum.[99] The use of temple *spolia* for the construction of a church should be seen primarily as part of a wider issue of architectural use in late antiquity. The dismantlement process effectively also created a vacant lot, which is why we so often find that churches built from temple *spolia* also occupy the site of the former temple.[100] The bulk transportation of material has been recognised in a few cases, sometimes systematically relocated and sometimes in a piecemeal fashion. When churches were built on the remains of temples after a long period of abandonment, they predictably tended to contain less elements of the original structure within the rebuild, as material was gradually appropriated from a disused site over time. The two cases of the Corycian Cave and the Temple of Apollo Klarios at Sagalassos, show quite clearly how intensive archaeological investigation can reveal much about the techniques by which a church could be raised from the structural fundaments of a temple.

The Temenos

The appropriation of a temple often meant more than just the acquisition of an *aedes*, as many were bounded within a larger precinct or temenos. Depending on the relative size between the planned church and the pre-existing precinct, the existence of a temenos wall could be highly influential to the extent and layout of the larger temple conversions. Occasionally it was integrated within the basilica walls, but more often it was left standing as a courtyard for the church, for example at Heliopolis

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[97] La Rocca has shown how reused material was use "hierarchically" in the churches of Bargylia, with higher quality imperial-period masonry displayed in the most prominent positions (La Rocca 1999).

[98] Butler 1920, 319, fig. 358, pl. 26; 1969, 53, 55-6; Callot 1997.

[99] Lassus 1947, 247-8; Spieser 1976.

[100] The destruction of the Marneion, situated right in the centre of Gaza, is an excellent example of the appropriation of prime real estate through divisive means.

(Baalbek) (Fig. 58), Aezani, Damascus and Diocaesarea (Fig. 69), to name but a few.[101] Nor was the temenos included simply because it was there. The fact that many new churches were built with courtyards in late antiquity shows that the temple temenos was easily appropriated into the functional programme of a new church. At Heliopolis (Baalbek) the existing temenos was even embellished with the provision of a substantial roof for the entrance courtyard (Fig. 58).[102] Sometimes the church replaced the temple entirely, occupying the same position within the temenos and other times the church was built elsewhere within the temenos, for example at Baalbek where the church was built on top of the pagan altar, as also at Hossn Niha (Fig. 59).[103] There can be no doubt however that the *raison d'etre* for the precinct had changed between the temple and the church, as ritual moved from the open exterior space to the interior of the new focal building.

Occasionally the existence of a temenos wall proved enticing to the church builders who incorporated the standing masonry into the fabric of the church. A good example of this is the Clifftop Temple at the Corycian Cave (see Chapter 6), where the incorporation of the precinct also meant that the church did not require the construction of an atrium. Temenoi were often flanked by stoa or other attendant structures and in the cases of the Church of the Virgin Mary at Ephesus and Deir Smedj in Southern Syria, these found new functions as churches.[104] In addition, just like the agora church at Lyrbe and the temple conversions that strove to incorporate peripteral columns, the colonnades of lateral porticoes were also often incorporated into churches.[105] The colonnaded courtyard of the temple at Thurburbo Majus in Africa Byzacium had a north-east to south-west dimension of less than 30m, making it ideal for a medium sized basilica (Fig. 60).[106] The south portico of the temenos was reused as the south aisle of a basilica, which also incorporated the south and west walls of the courtyard. Hence some of the north-south aligned columns of the porticoes had to be removed and some of these were relocated as a colonnade for the north aisle.[107] At nearby Sufetula (Sbeitla) a temple of comparable form was similarly converted, but with significant differences (Fig. 61). Here the church was built north-west-

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[101] Deichmann also lists several such churches in Syria at Betin, Hebron, Hossn Suleiman and possibly Hama (Fig. 66) (1939, 108). Others can be added from elsewhere including the temple-church at Khirbet edh-Dharih (Villeneuve 1986), the Temple of Apollo Klarios at Sagalassos and the Clifftop Temple at the Corycian Cave.

[102] Ragette 1980, 71.

[103] Krencker and Zschietzschmann 1938, 122ff; Deichmann 1939, 120; Taylor 1967, 39-41.

[104] Ephesus: Karwiese 1995. Deir Smedj: Butler 1907, 352.

[105] Jale İnan suggests that the church at Lyrbe occupied the site of a temple, although offers no corroborative evidence (1998, 35).

[106] Duval 1973; Teichner 1996; Milojevič 1997, 351-2; Vaes 1986, 330. The "New Temple" at Tipasa (Fig. 63) was similarly converted, although here the church extended beyond the temple precinct to the east (Duval 1973, 292-5).

[107] A similar approach can be seen with regard to the conversion of the Asklepeion at Athens (Fig. 64). The principal components of the complex were a small prostyle shrine situated at the west end of a narrow courtyard flanked by porticoes and a spring house. The church built later on this site ignored the shrine and instead took its origin from the colonnades of the porticoes, which were reutilised as the aisle divides of the large basilica. For the date see Frantz 1965 (pp. 194-5).

facing with five aisles, occupying much more of the courtyard.[108] A feature of these North African courtyard temples is the situation of the cella along the flank of the courtyard. Hence this was readily preserved in the conversions of Thurburbo Majus, Sufetula and Jebel Oust (Figs 60-2), and in all three cases it appears to have been converted for use as a baptistery.[109]

So the temenos of a temple was considered to be readily transferable to Christian usage, intact and *in situ*. It was not seen to be imbued with the kind of connotation that had focused the actions of Christians against the temples themselves, even though in the functioning pagan temple the whole area defined by the precinct was considered to be sacred.[110] This notion of temple and temenos as separate entities is inferred by Malalas' description of the destruction of the Temple of Hermes in Antioch. Although it is clearly stated that the temple was destroyed, we discover later on in the passage that the propyleum had been preserved when a church was later built on the site.[111] In another example, the material from the destroyed Marneion at Gaza is said to have been used to repave the street in front of the temple, although the walls of the courtyard themselves were left untouched.[112]

The construction of a church within a temenos did not however always require the destruction of the previous occupant. Although the material from the Temple of Jupiter at Baalbek was used in the construction of the adjacent church, much of the temple was left standing (Fig. 58).[113] What function the bounded space of the temple cella subsequently took can only be speculated. When a church was built in the temenos of the temple at Khirbet edh-Dharih in Syria, the barrel-vaulted chamber beneath the podium appears to have been employed as a crypt and this temple itself may well have been left standing.[114] For Damascus it has been argued that the Church of St John was tucked away in the corner of the temenos because the temple itself was still functioning, or at least open to the people. The notion that this and other evidence may reveal the existence of an element of competition in proximate temples and churches has been suggested by Gregory and expanded upon by Trombley.[115] In the case of Damascus this hypothesis is perhaps supported by the observation that the church actually

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[108] Milojevič 1997, 350-1.

[109] The enormous scale of the Temple of Apollo at Didyma allowed the construction of a church entirely within the oracular adytum and with little disruption to the existing structure. The *naiskos* which therefore survived the transformation was also subsequently used as a baptistery (Fontenrose 1988, 25).

[110] Stambaugh 1979, 562.

[111] Malalas, 318.

[112] *Vita Porphyrii*, 66, 76.

[113] Ragette 1980.

[114] Villeneuve 1986.

[115] Gregory 1986, 237-40; Trombley 1995a, 118-20. Particularly apparent in the rather unique case of Philae where in the 5th century both pagan temples and Christian churches served the same population (Nautin 1967; Trombley 1995a, II. 225-39).

incorporates the main gateway to the temenos as its principal entrance, almost as if to absorb those who still wanted to visit the temple.[116]

The temple temenos was more than just a bounded precinct. It defined an area not merely set aside for ritual, but also for commerce, finance, social interaction and scholarly pursuits.[117] If we consider temples to have been abandoned places after their Christianisation, did these other functions also cease? We hear very little about the locations of these more "secular" activities in late antiquity, but we might suggest that the surviving temenoi continued to serve these functions.[118] Churches, like the temples before them also attracted an enormous variety of associated activities, particularly extra-mural sanctuaries like the Shrine of St Thecla at Seleucia in Cilicia, which housed famous aviaries in addition to lodgings and places for feasting. In the pagan world we see that the precinct itself was sometimes more important than the temple it housed, as was probably the case with the Library of Hadrian in Athens, which was essentially a huge porticoed courtyard. The tetraconch church, built sometime in the 5th or 6th century within the courtyard, probably replaced a temple to the Imperial Cult, but did not impede upon the rooms or porticos of the library itself.[119] Dispute may be raised to this hypothesis on the basis that after the abandonment or destruction of the temple and before the construction of a church, the entire precinct might have lost its dynamism as a social centre. This situation could perhaps have contributed to the gradual commercialisation of the main streets and agora, which begins in earnest from around this time.

The temenos often formed the architectural connection between the sacred space of the temple and the wider world of the city. This certainly provides another encouragement for its maintenance, yet we see that the church was often very ill fitting within the pre-existing architectural envelope of the temenos. This was simply because many churches were larger than their predecessors for which the precincts had usually been designed to compliment. This is certainly the case at Thurburbo Majus (Fig. 60) and also at Baalbek (Fig. 58), particularly after the reversal of the apse of the basilica. The Cathedral of Gerasa was squeezed inside a narrow precinct of a much smaller temple in the shadow of the Temple of Artemis. This temple did however have a grand propyleum from the street, which continued in use after the construction of the church. The size of the church though meant that the staircase leading up to the temple court had to be rebuilt with a sharper gradient.[120] This did not really improve the

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[116] Damascus: Deichmann 1939; Freyberger 2000 with refs. Other examples of churches occupying former entrances can be found at Tentyra (Denderah) and Abydos in Thebais, although in both cases the position seems to have been more influenced by the existence of reusable colonnades (Milojevič 1997, figs 8, 9).

[117] Stambaugh 1979; Macmullen 1981.

[118] Macmullen 1984, 96-7.

[119] Castrén 1999. On the disputed function of this structure see Frantz 1965 (p. 196).

[120] Bikai and Egan 1996, 523-4, fig. 24; Browning 1982, 177.

articulation of the place, primarily because the propyleum was on the east side of the church so rather than a grand entrance at the top of the stairs there was simply a wall.[121]

How then do we explain the temenos-church? Why is it that the temple itself was ignored and perhaps only provided the material for the new construction? In some cases it may be argued that the temple was structurally inappropriate, either because it was too small for the new requirements or it was of an unusual plan. For example the accommodation of the Christian liturgy within the hypostyle hall of a dynastic temple of Egypt, would have been difficult as shown by the rather superficial conversion of the Temple of Isis at Philae. This was also the case at Medinet Habu, where the forecourt proved to serve the most suitable architectural framework for adaptation to a basilica.[122] The same could also be argued for the Corycian Cave and the courtyard temples of Africa Byzacium. The most likely explanation though is probably grounded in the chronology and it is noticeable that dates given for temenos-churches tend to be earlier than the middle of the 5th century when direct temple conversions are first attested. The temenos-church may therefore be a feature of a time before the direct temple-conversion period and therefore reflects the codes of avoidance still existing during this period.

THE ARCHITECTURAL VOCABULARY OF TEMPLE CONVERSION

The late antique transformation of the physical environment was intertwined with the long-term social changes afforded by Christianisation. Christians were generating a new sacred landscape in the cities and countryside that was challenging places of pagan sanctity and gradually creating a semi-transparent overlay on existing ancient sacred networks. Churches were constructed both on new sites and incorporating the extant remains of earlier buildings (*de novo* and *ex novo*). In both instances the resultant building had to be appropriate for the liturgical requirements of Christian congregational space. From the earliest 4th century church, function to a large degree inspired form: the basilica for congregation, with a transept or ambulatory for funerary associations, moving into the more specific martyrial churches of centralised plan. By the end of the 4th century Christian architecture was becoming more regionalised, yet from this time onwards the templates created by Constantine's architects were never abandoned, only modified.

In addition to liturgical provision, regionality was a second major influence on the development of Christian architecture, both in terms of local styles and materials. Hence these fundamental denominators tempered the logistics of converting any ancient building into a church. The crucial question is whether a distinct "architectural vocabulary" existed for temple conversions and should certain temple-church designs therefore be understood as reflecting a conscious building tradition,

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[121] Wharton 1995.

[122] Philae: Nautin 1967. Medinet Habu: Vaes 1986, fig. 69; Milojevič 1996, 255.

comparable to more established types like the transept basilica or the ambulatory church. Hints of this have already emerged in this work, and the conclusion on this issue will be drawn later, in the light of the detailed regional evidence emerging from my study of Cilicia. For the moment, we can focus on how this architectural vocabulary may have been shaped by the existing temple template.

Impact of pre-existing structure on the resultant church

One of the questions arising from the study of the material remains of temple conversions is how far the form of a church was dictated and restricted by the pre-existing architectural remains, and whether, in the most extreme cases, compromises were made in church architecture in order to incorporate the temple. Despite the necessities imposed by regional denominators and liturgy, the available material was in many cases clearly responsible for the form, scale and aesthetics of many churches built from temples. For example, in the "inverted transformation" of the Temple of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias, the width of the nave was pre-determined by the distance between the north and south colonnade of the peripteros (Fig. 51). This had implications for the overall proportioning of the church, the width of the aisles, the width and scale of the apse etc.

The proportions of a church converted from a temple, were controlled by any combination of the temple foundations, podium, peripteros or cella. A temple podium was clearly seen as a good potential foundation for a new church. If a structure had held a temple, it could without doubt support the walls of a church. It is true to say that in most cases the temple podium therefore provided a natural boundary for the construction of the church, but only if it suited the purpose.[123] Since the temples of the Roman period were characteristically set on higher podia than their Greek predecessors, they appear to have had more influence on the scale of the subsequent churches. This can be seen in the conversion of the Temple of Zeus at Seleucia in Cilicia (Fig. 93) and was also the case for the Church in the Forum Vetus at Lepcis Magna and also at Emporio on Chios.[124] In the latter example, it is significant that only the narthex and atrium of the church lay outside the bounds of the pre-existing podium as the walls of these components clearly bore less weight than the main body of a basilica.

Even within the boundaries set by the podium, the overall scale of the church was still however quite flexible (Fig. 66). For example, it could be built completely inside the cella, or with a projecting apse. The peripteros could be blocked up and used as the outer walls of the basilica or as the interior colonnades of a church. This presented a variety of different options for the church builders faced with the remains of a single temple. The reuse of the temple of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias stretched the

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[123] The precinct wall in temenos-churches also acted as a limiting boundary as seen for example at Thurburbo Majus (Fig. 60) and Sufetula (Sbeitla) in North Africa (Fig. 61).

[124] Lepcis: Ward-Perkins and Goodchild 1953, p. 24, fig. 9; Teichner 1996, 56-7. Emporio: Ballance, Boardman et al. 1989.

existing architecture to its absolute limit to produce a church measuring, around 70 by 34 metres (Fig. 51). Within the same temple, the church could have been as small as 23 by 10 metres, the approximate dimensions of the cella.

The temple form demanded a basilica conversion, but beyond this it was flexible enough to accommodate a multitude of regional variations in Christian architecture. The resultant church may ultimately have differed from other churches in the region only in terms of proportions and aesthetics. The aesthetics of the church were influenced both by the temple fabric and the structural elements reused *in situ*. Characteristics such as the form of the apse, presence or otherwise of sacristies, galleries, clerestory or narthex may also in some cases have been influenced by the existing structure, although this was not the case everywhere.

We have for the most part discussed the transformation of temples of the varieties most common in Asia Minor and Oriens, of peripteral or prostyle form. Yet the conversion of Nubian temples (e.g. Philae) into churches emphasises different challenges that were met by the church builders. These temples are characterised by their massive hypostyle halls, dense with columns and were much further removed from the primitive form of a basilica than the more common Greaco-Roman temple format. Thus at Philae the requirements of the open communal space normally found in most churches was largely abandoned with the minimalist conversion undertaken.[125]

What we do find is that it was in many cases possible to construct a church using substantial remains of a temple without significantly compromising local traditions, which were themselves in any case quite flexible. Where this was not possible, or considered undesirable given the condition or form of the temple, there was an enormous amount of flexibility for its re-deployment within the church. We have seen many cases where the temple was the overriding influence for the ground plan and particularly the overall scale of the church. It is therefore quite clear that compromises could be made in the design, form and orientation of the church, in order to make the most efficient use of the temple. This principle did however have its limits as we see for example in the Cathedral at Gaza, where the requirement for easterly orientation within the restricted space of the existing temenos confounded the legibility of the new building. Here, as well as at Baalbek, orientation was given primacy over accessibility.

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[125] Nautin 1967.

CONCLUSIONS

The foregoing discussion has underlined the pragmatism of temple conversion and presented the phenomenon as part of the milieu of re-utilisation in late antiquity, which saw many disused or poorly maintained building plots – not just the sites of temples – being put to new uses. The explosion of church construction comes at a time when the reuse of architectural elements in new contexts becomes much more widespread. It was also a time when considerable efforts were being made to rejuvenate urban centres and the restoration of defunct urban monuments was clearly an important part of this. In the light of this conclusion we should certainly see both the temple-church and converted temple-tomb not so much as differing phenomena, but more as variations on a theme.

There can be little doubt that the reuse of an existing structure, in whatever form, was easier and less costly than the construction of a church *de novo*. The major structural alterations required to build a church within a cella were the construction of an apse and usually a new roofing system. In several examples the temple columns provided the framework for the construction of walls. Whether this was the entire circuit of a peripteral temple used as the outer walls of a basilica or just the columns of a prostyle temple used as the wall of a narthex, the crux of the matter was the same: it made the job easier. The columns of the peripteros provided a stable load-bearing framework for the basilica walls, which meant that the intercolumniations were merely filled with material, a less difficult structural operation than building a wall from scratch. Moreover, with a peripteral temple, the blocking material could even be provided in the conversion process, as a result of the removal of the cella. The reuse of the peripteros within a church as the aisle divides required only the relocation of the temple columns. This was certainly a more favourable option than either sculpting a new set of columns or acquiring new supports from other sources. The apse was the principal component of the church that most often needed to be built *de novo*, even though on rare occasions the remains of an exedra could be rebuilt for the purpose, as was the case at Selge and also possibly at Cremna in Pisidia.[126]

In terms of structure and engineering it can be seen that temples were employed as the starting-point for the construction of churches. By providing either the standing structures or merely the raw materials for new construction, the incorporation of temple remains simplified the process. In the vast majority of cases it is therefore possible to conclude that the conversion of temples into churches could have occurred as a matter of expedience, based on the availability of land, materials and the potential for the exploitation of context and an existing framework. An apparent prerequisite in direct temple conversion was that no remains of the temple, or space occupied by it, should be wasted and methods were found to incorporate as much as possible with limited inconvenience to the new design. Hence

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[126] Selge: Vaes 1986, 327. Cremna: Mitchell 1995.

the rigorously pragmatic use of the temple and temenos at Thurburbo Majus and the Lego-block approach to the construction of a church from a temple seen at the Corycian Cave and at Sagalassos.

The similarities between the conversion scenarios have revealed the existence of an architectural vocabulary for temple conversion, by which temples were converted into churches through a pattern-book of techniques. The principal formulas that were applied to temple conversion drew their influence from the earlier conversion of secular structures; only the composition of the source elements was different. Within this context it is possible to see how temple conversion became a positively important building type in its own right.

Yet such were the varieties in local scenarios it is quite clear that this coherent vocabulary did not always result in the same church form from the same kind of temple. It was not a universal language. For example the reapplication of the entire circuit of a peripteral temple as the framework for the outer wall of a basilica was only realised in three certain instances: at Diocaesarea, Seleucia and Syracuse. Partial blocking is found elsewhere, but an equally common solution was to simply ignore it and to construct the church within the cella. This was the case with the Temple of Zeus at Aezani, where the entire podium of the peripteral temple had been available for conversion (Fig. 19). An apse was added to the pronaos, but the cella walls, the remains of the ptera and the colonnades were left untouched, with the church occupying the cella alone. In this case, as in the variations between the conversions of Sicily and their counterparts in Cilicia (see Chapter 7), it is possible that irrespective of the ground plan, it was the degree of preservation of the superstructure that constrained the transformation possibilities.

Perhaps the most noticeable aspect of the architectural vocabulary of temple conversion was that the temple-church builders were clearly unashamed about presenting their new architecture as transformed temples. The cella-temples like Bet Djaluk (Fig. 18), the Parthenon (Fig. 20) and the Aezani temple (Fig. 19) underwent only superficial transformation and their external appearance in particular was virtually unaltered. The cella-conversion was the most common form of direct temple conversion and was at the same time the least obtrusive.

The apparent popularity of a simple cella transformation is largely attributable to the fact that most converted temples were prostyle in form. This study has shown that the *cellae* of temples were converted in particular ways that largely depended on both orientation and spatial requirements of the resultant church. Of the few converted peripteral temples, around half simply received a cella conversion. The conversion types that incorporated the peripteros – the Sicilian/Cilician form and the Aphrodisian "inverted" form – were in fact rather rare.

The temple-*spolia*-churches are found much more widely than any direct conversion type. We have seen that they could be constructed either from a pell-mell of various remains or through the systematic dismantlement and appropriation of temple material.[127] However acquired, it has been shown that such relocated material could still have a profound influence on the resultant church, not just in terms of aesthetics but also in the resultant form. It is clear that temple-*spolia*-churches were a symptom both of 4th century aggression against the temples, and also the general deterioration of many surviving temples by the middle of the 5th century.

Leaving aside the monument-specific influence of orientation, the two general factors that influenced the form of temple conversions most were regionality and chronology. By regionality I mean not only the level of local architectural understanding of the possibilities of temple conversion but also the local style of both temple and church architecture, all of which had some impact on the form of the resultant church. Local architectural styles were already well established by the 5th century, so attempts were clearly made to incorporate particular forms into the converted temples. However the nature of the extant remains still had a profound effect on the scale, form and appearance of the new church. This issue will be dealt with later in regard to the temple conversions of Cilicia, as its complexity requires a detailed regional study.

These issues are clearly linked to an understanding of the chronological impact of temple conversion. This is first of all because there are likely to have been fewer surviving remains of temples in the 5th century than the 4th century and secondly because church architecture was developing so rapidly in this period. Gaining a handle on the chronology of temple conversion is therefore our next task.

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[127] The problems of identifying this temple material within the fabric of a church will be addressed in the general conclusions of this thesis (Chapter 7).

CHAPTER 4

THE CHRONOLOGY OF CONVERSION

INTRODUCTION

The chronology of destructive action against temples is relatively well defined in both the archaeological and historical records, as we have seen in Chapter 2 (Fig. 3). However only a small number of actual temple conversions have been dated securely by reference to any historical source, for reasons that will be discussed in this chapter. Although the archaeological evidence is now beginning to exert more influence on this debate, few converted temples have actually been excavated and until recently post-Roman modifications to temples were often either neglected, misunderstood or at worst ripped out without being recorded.[1] On a more general level, only a small proportion of early Byzantine churches are actually well dated, at least more specifically than within a century. This has created something of a circular problem: churches are given date ranges based on a conjectural historical context and the characteristics of their form are subsequently used to date other comparable churches.[2]

Before the publication of Hanson's influential article in 1978 it was often assumed that some temples were converted immediately after their abandonment and several were dated to the 4th century as a result.[3] Armed with what is arguably negative body of evidence Hanson maintained that the construction of churches directly from temples did not in fact commence in earnest until the middle of the 5th century. This chapter will assess the current validity and wider implications of Hanson's claim. However, in order to critically contextualise this discussion, I will also undertake an examination of the techniques employed to date the various forms of temple conversion. Finally I will test the

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[1] The classic Cilician example is Bent's description of his destructive "survey" at the Corycian cave (1890a, 448). It is unfortunate that even extensive excavation of a church often does not always lead to the establishment of a reliable chronology, for example in the early phase of the church (?Cathedral) converted from a bathhouse at Priene, the early 5th century dating of which relies on a tenuous link with the first recorded bishop (Westphalen 1998, 302-3).

[2] Frantz pointed out that all the Athenian conversions had been dated to the middle of the 5th century on this basis, when most were probably somewhat later (Frantz 1965, 188). For temple conversions the tendency has been to date according to the evidence of the Law Codes, as we see for example in Collart's early 5th century date for the conversion of the Temple of Baalshamîn at Palmyra (1969, 94).

[3] Hanson 1978.

hypothesis that there is a chronological distinction between churches that – in one way or another – preserve *in* situ temple remains and those built on or near the site of a destroyed temple.[4]

THE DIRECT TEMPLE CONVERSION THRESHOLD

The examples of temple conversions disputed by Hanson's article were known primarily through historical texts, which have undeniably provided the most prolific source for the establishment of chronology in the debate. By re-examining these sources he argued that temples were not directly converted into churches before the middle of the 5th century.[5] For reputed early conversions in Constantinople he showed that the Church of St Menas appeared more likely to have been built a century after the temple on the site was cleansed of its imagery and that the Church of St Mokios was built on the ruined part of a Temple of Zeus and therefore only included *spolia* from the temple and not extant remains. Both were previously thought to be temples converted under Constantine.[6] For another supposed temple-church in Tiberias he showed that the pagan structure was incomplete at the time of conversion and in fact only stood 7ft high. He also clarified that the mid-4th-century church built at the Temple of Apollo at Didyma did not actually intrude on the temple but was situated outside. Finally he showed that Quodvultdeus' account of the conversion of the Temple of Caelestris in Carthage in 399, previously thought to have been the first direct temple conversion, was so full of errors and inconsistencies that it should be regarded with deep suspicion.[7]

By proceeding to list a series of direct conversions from the 5th to 7th centuries, Hanson was then able to conclude that the stimulus for the commencement of direct temple conversion was Theodosius' famous law of 435. This law is usually interpreted as an order to destroy the temples and to replace them with Christian churches:

> Their fanes, temples and shrines, even if now they remain entire, shall be destroyed by command of the magistrates (of the municipalities) and shall be purified by the erection of the sign of the venerable Christian religion (*Cod. Theod.* XVI 10. 25).

Subsequent scholars have tended not to dispute this hypothesis.[8] As we have seen in an earlier chapter however, this adherence to the Law Codes is unsustainable on any general level and I have suggested that this law also appears only to have referred to temples that were still being used for pagan practices (see Chapter 2 and Appendix 1). Most importantly, the command for the destruction of the temples presented by this law would not logically have resulted in direct temple conversion, since the temple

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[4] A number of scholars have failed to realise this important distinction, e.g. Teichner 1996.

[5] Hanson 1978, 260-1.

[6] Dagron 1974, 376.

[7] Hanson 1978, 262-3; Quodvultdeus, III. 38. 44.

[8] For example Macmullen 1997, 53.

itself would not have been preserved. A more appropriate historical context for direct temple conversion is perhaps provided by the subsequent general law of Leo and Majorian issued in 458, which demanded the empire-wide cessation of temple destruction:

> those things which belong to the splendour of the cities ought to be preserved by civic affection, even under the necessity of repair. Therefore, by this general law We sanction that all the buildings that have been founded by the ancients as temples and as other monuments and that were constructed for the public use or pleasure shall not be destroyed by any person (*Nov. Maj.* 4.)

It is curious that this law has featured in very few previous discussions on this pivotal issue.[9] It might be the case that it has been overlooked simply because it was not published within Book XVI, Title 10 of the Code. The 435 law is the last law in the section and hence to many scholars it has appeared as something of a climax in the legislative endeavours against paganism. We should constantly remind ourselves that the enactment of imperial law did not cease with the publication of the Code.

Subsequent research and excavation has not contradicted the mid-5th-century threshold for direct temple conversion. However there was one example that Hanson overlooked: the Temple of Baalshamîn in Palmyra, the conversion of which was dated by Collart to the early 5th century on the basis of the legislation of Theodosius I and also on the form of the resultant basilica (Fig. 55). Although Collart did not have the benefit of subsequent work on the Code, he failed to adequately consider Butler's work on the design of Syrian churches, which showed that the greatest frequency of quadrangular apses in Northern Syria, of the form evidenced in the Baalshamîn conversion, were to be found in churches dated to the middle of the 6th century (Fig. 56).[10] This would correspond to a period of revival in Palmyra's turbulent late antique history, when Justinian is reported by Malalas and Procopius to have invested heavily in the city's diminished urban fabric, providing funds in particular for the construction and restoration of defences and churches.[11]

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[9] An exception is Ward-Perkins 1984 (p. 89). See Joannou 1972 for a broader chronology.

[10] Butler 1969 (1st edition 1929), esp. 134-41.

[11] Malalas, 426. Procopius, *De Aedif.* II. 11.

THE LITERARY TRADITION OF TEMPLE CONVERSION IN THE 4TH AND 5TH CENTURIES

Although the historical sources are rich with the dramatic episodes of conflict, the destruction of temples, the heroic or villainous activities of bishops and other aspects of urban paganism's apparent bloody demise, the actual conversion of temples into churches rarely gets a mention, despite the number that are known archaeologically.

Where mention is made of the fate of the temples, the structural details of the destruction or conversion are not of primary concern and any specific details are usually ambiguous or unclear. For example, Malalas claimed that Theodosius "razed all the shrines of the Hellenes to the ground" after already stating that Constantine had done the same. Effectively in contradiction, he then stated that "he made many other temples into churches". Clearly Malalas' understanding of the conversion of a temple into a church did not necessarily mean a direct conversion.[12] He also claimed that Theodosius I "made the temple of Damascus a Christian church",[13] whereas the archaeology shows us that the church was positioned away from the temple, in the corner of the temenos. In another example, according to Procopius, Justinian's general Narses tore down the temples of Philae. We know quite clearly that what in fact occurred was a very minimalist structural conversion.[14]

One of the earliest textual references to a direct temple conversion (or at least the suggestion of one) comes from Mark the Deacon's *Life of Porphyrius of Gaza*, the hagiography of an eastern bishop at the turn of the 5th century. After the destruction of the Temple of Zeus Marnas, the author recounts the discussions over what to do with the burnt-out ruins.[15] Although the remains of the temple end up being demolished the suggestion does arise that it could be consecrated as a church. There are no references to how this could be affected, but this source does seem to demonstrate an awareness of direct temple conversion in the context of a debate that apparently took place in the early 5th century. Unfortunately this is not so conclusive. What the source is actually telling us, is that the notion of temple conversion existed in the *author's* vocabulary at the time of writing, and some scholars suggest that *The Life of Porphyrius* is considerably later than the events it describes.[16]

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[12] Malalas, 318.

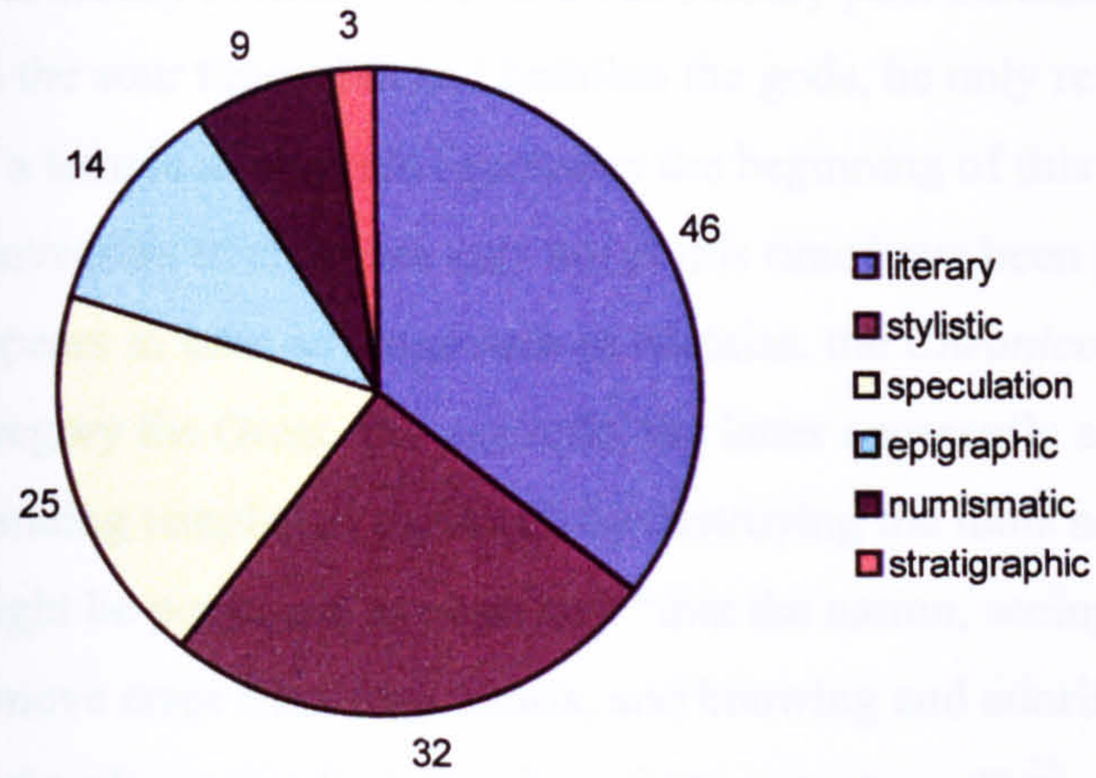
[13] Malalas, 344.

[14] Procopius, *Persian Wars*, I. 19. 37; Nautin 1967.

[15] *Vita Porphyrii*, 66. See Chuvin 1990 (pp. 76-8, 89-90).

[16] See the Trombley's discussion for the complete picture (1995a, I. 246-282) and also Macmullen 1984 (p. 158).

Chart 1: Types of evidence used to date temple conversions



Despite the fact that over 80% of known or suspected temple conversions have actually been identified archaeologically, the chronology of conversion has been written primarily from the historical sources, which rarely provide us with sufficient levels of detail to date a temple conversion (Chart 1).

As with Mark the Deacon, many of the key authors were writing in the middle of the 5th century or later about events that had taken place years before. Some were clearly not particular about the vocabulary they used to describe the Christianisation of a temple site. So Sozomen describes how Antiochene Christians in the mid-4th century resolved to act against the oracle at Daphne and "erect a house of prayer in the temple and to transfer thither the tomb of Babylas, the martyr".[17] However he continues to refer to the structure as a temple and both Socrates and Theodoret describe Babylas as the neighbour of the oracle.[18] It seems therefore that the shrine and tomb of the martyr was built not in the temple itself, but nearby. The *Ecclesiastical History* of Sozomenus is however regarded as one of the least reliable of late antique sources and his notion of temple conversion often appears in conflict with other authors.[19] By contrast Socrates only mentions a single such occasion in his whole work, in which Christians "changed the form of their temple into that of a church" on a remote island during the reign of Valens (364-378).[20] Its context however reveals its unreliability, as it forms part of what is essentially a hagiographical narrative, sculptured in eulogising rhetoric, which clearly falls on the side of the exiled monks who performed the miracle that prompted the conversion.[21]

A general chronology of temple conversion can however be revealed to us indirectly, from the vocabulary used by historical authors writing at different times to describe the fate of the temples. So to most 4th and 5th century authors like Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Quodvultdeus, Libanius and the poet Palladas, temples were closed or destroyed, converted to some secular use or

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[17] Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* V. 19-20.

[18] Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* III. 18; Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* III. 6; Amm. Marc., 22. 13. 2.

[19] See for example the "conversion" of a mithraeum in Alexandria into a church, which contrasts starkly with Socrates' description of the event of this "deconsecration" (Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* VII. 15; Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* III. 2.).

[20] Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* IV. 24.

[21] On the inherent bias of such literary sources in late antique contexts see Cameron 1982 and Cormack 1985 (pp. 19-20).

sometimes replaced by churches.[22] For example Libanius, probably writing between 382 and 391, complains of temples being destroyed and petitions for their transferral to other uses, which are specifically secular.[23] The late 4th-century poet Palladas is particularly intriguing since in his tirades on the sour times that had befallen the gods, he only refers to the melting down of statues and the use of a temple as a tavern (quoted at the beginning of this work).[24] It seems that the notion of direct conversion to churches may not at this time have been part of the temple debate vocabulary. This only appears in later writings such as Malalas, the *Chronicon Paschale*, Procopius or the letters of Pope Gregory the Great. For example, the latter apparently advised Augustine of Canterbury to purify the standing temples of the Angli by destroying the idols and sprinkling holy water, so that the buildings might be put to use as churches: "that the nation, seeing that their temples are not destroyed, may remove error from their hearts, and knowing and adoring the true God, may the more familiarly resort to the places to which they have been accustomed".[25]

By the 6th century however our primary sources are predictably less interested in the fate of the pagan temples than earlier authors and details are rarely given. This is perhaps the principal reason why only a handful of direct temple conversions have been provided with dates from historical sources, for example the conversion of the Temple of Isis at Philae in 535-7 and the conversion of the "Temple of Concord" at Agrigento in c.596.[26]

I have only been able to find a single reference from a reliable source that does not apparently follow this hypothesis. In an epigram probably dated to the 380s, Gregory of Nazianzus reported that he had transformed (μεταςχηματισθείσαν) a temple into a church within his own bishopric.[27] The exact nature of this transformation is of course unspecified. In any case it is not my intention here to propose that no temples were used as churches before the middle of the 5th century; in the next chapter I will discuss evidence which suggests that some might have been occupied by Christians before this time. However it seems clear that these early occupations were not accompanied by the kind of structural transformation that we see from the mid-5th century onwards.

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[22] This is admittedly only a cursory survey of 4th-6th century literature, but a general trend can be observed. Like Sozomen and Socrates, Theodoret of Cyrrhus produced his *Ecclesiastical History* before the middle of the 5th century and there is no mention even of churches succeeding temples. With the exception of the aforementioned example, the closest Socrates comes to describing a temple conversion is when he explains how George of Alexandria wanted to replace a mithraeum with a church (*Hist. Eccl.* III. 2). See also Sulpitius Severus from the early 5th century (Sulp. Sev. *Vita.* XIII), who describes how Martin of Tours built a church on the site of every temple he destroyed. Sozomen is the principal exception (e.g. *Hist. Eccl.* VII. 15), although his unreliability on these issues has already been noted.

[23] Libanius, *Or.* XXX; Chuvin 1990, pp. 60-62; Trombley 1995a, I. 215.

[24] Harrison 1975, nos 63-6. For sources relating to Palladas see Kaegi 1966, n. 21.

[25] Although the source for this is early 8th century (Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* I. 30); MacCormack 1990; Macmullen 1997, 124.

[26] *Vita San Gregorio*, Lib. Pont. *PG* 98, 709; Trizzino 1988. The temple conversion at Seleucia in Cilicia (mid-5th century) was dated from the *Miracles of St Thecla* although this is far from secure.

[27] *PG* 38, col. 99 (Epigrammata 30); Saradi-Mendelovici 1990, 53, n. 66.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CHRONOLOGIES

Although archaeological investigation has the potential to provide firmer chronologies than those afforded from the historical sources, these are often little more than a *terminus post quem* or hypotheses based on stylistic elements of the church. Epigraphic evidence has probably proved the most reliable source for the dating of conversions (Chart 1).

One direct temple conversion that has recently been chronologically secured as a result of archaeological excavation is the Temple of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias. It is now believed that the conversion took place after the middle of the 5th century (*tpq* Leo I, 457-74) and this structure therefore stands probably as the most securely dated temple conversion of the 5th century. However, the story of the scholarly process by which this conclusion was ultimately reached is revealing for other conversions that have been dated historically, particularly because the transformation of the temple into the Church of St Michael is probably the most comprehensively studied temple conversion in Asia Minor.

Charlotte Roueché provided interpretations of the inscriptions associated with the building and in so doing, has clearly revealed the problematic nature of attempting to date the transformation of a temple into a church. Based on historical evidence, AD 443 was initially suggested tentatively as the date for this undertaking, as it is known that in this year, Theodosius II visited the city on a tour of duty. It was therefore suggested that he might have donated privileges to the bishop Cyrus (who is known to have been highly respected by the emperor) specifically in order to convert the temple.[28] The date for the temple conversion was then moved even earlier following the observation of similarities between the construction style of the church and repairs made to the Tetrapylon, which lies to the east of the temple. The latter was given a *terminus post quem* of the early 5th century based on associated coin finds dating to the reign of Arcadius.[29] However, the evidence to support both these claims was not considered to be particularly satisfactory.

Roueché had already suggested that a later date could be more fitting, perhaps in the late 5th or 6th century, when it is known what the city enjoyed increased prosperity both in the public and private sectors.[30] Of significance is a selection of inscriptions discovered inside the church in the balustrade of the bema. Roueché argued that they recorded "the prayers of some of the contributors to this conversion" and that the script was of a mid-to-late 5th century style. This dating has now been clarified by numismatic evidence. A number of coins, perhaps constituting a single hoard, were

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[28] Erim 1986, 57; Roueché 1989, 153.

[29] Smith 1996, 13.

[30] Roueché 1989, 154.

retrieved from the foundation of the north wall of the narthex as excavated in 1993.[31] These were variously dated, although a *terminus post quem* was provided by a coin of the emperor Leo (457-474). On a more pessimistic note it has not yet been clarified if the narthex was contemporary with or later than the main body of the church.[32]

Trombley has further attempted to discern the historical context for the conversion and thereby provide a more certain date, although the argument is undoubtedly as tenuous as the initial suggestion of AD 443.[33] Without doubt it would be comforting to find that the conversion of the temple and the demise of the philosopher's school were as intimately connected as Trombley asserts. He proposes that the temple was converted by demand of Zeno as a punishment for the Aphrodisian pagans who contributed funds to the rebellion of Illus, between 481-8.[34] Although an intriguing hypothesis, one must hope that its conjectural status remains intact and that this theory is not extended further in the absence of secure corroborative evidence.

Numismatic evidence has been the primary contribution of excavation to the temple-conversion debate, although the only other *direct* temple conversion dated in this way in the basilica at Emporio on Chios.[35] At least six temple-*spolia*-churches and temenos-churches (indirect conversions) have however been dated by coin finds. For example, the Cathedral at Gerasa, built on the remains of a temple, was given a *terminus post quem* of 378 as a result of coins found in the bedding for the church floor and at Ephesus, a *terminus post quem* of 474 was provided for the construction of the Church of the Virgin Mary, built within the southern hall of the Olympeion temenos.[36] The octagonal martyrium built on the foundations of the Herodian Temple at Caesarea Maritima (also incorporating material form the temple) has recently been secured to 480-500, although only the lower end of this range is

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[31] Smith and Ratté 1995, 44-5; 2000. For previous arguments on date of the conversion see Roueché 1989, Cormack 1990b and Campbell 1991.

[32] Smith and Ratté 2000.

[33] Trombley 1995a, I. 81-2; II. 21, 52-73.

[34] See Harl 1990 (p. 22, n. 54) for additional references to the rebellion.

[35] "Scientific" analysis has had little impact on the issue and it is probably questionable that such techniques could at the moment be fruitfully applied, given the inherent standard deviations in their application. For Emporio see Ballance 1989, although this is a "direct conversion" in the loosest sense since only the lowest courses of possibly two temples were used to provide foundations for the subsequent church.

[36] The 4th-century dating of the small church built adjacent to the Temple of Artemis at Sardis must be questioned first of all on the basis of the excavation techniques that led to the discovery of the coin hoard (see Butler 1912 and Bell 1916, vii) and secondly with regard to the design of the church itself, which suggests a later date. This church is in any case essentially an indirect conversion since it only intrudes in a very superficial way onto the temple itself. In addition the temple appears to have been abandoned sometime in the middle of the 3rd century and had been partially obscured by alluvial silt by the middle of the 4th century (Butler 1922; Hanfmann 1961, 54; Foss 1976, 48; Hanfmann 1983, 192ff).

provided by a *terminus post quem*.[37] Rather than relying on individual discoveries, broader studies on the frequency of coin finds through time have also been employed by archaeologists to elucidate the fate of temples. For example, Hohlfelder assessed the late antique coin finds from the Temple of Zeus Hypistos outside Neapolis on the west bank of the Jordan River, and noted the decline in post-Julianic issues before a virtual cessation at the end of the 4th century, a trend that seemed well-suited to the established historical framework.[38]

Epigraphic evidence has however enabled some temple conversions to be dated with more precision and at the same time has occasionally provided precious insights into the transformation itself. Much of this has emerged from archaeological explorations in the last century in North Africa and the Levant, with Syria providing a particularly rich source. The construction of the church built abutting the Temple at Dendur in Thebais was celebrated with an inscription in the middle of the 6th century.[39] At Zorava, south of the Dead Sea, the construction of an octagonal martyrium dedicated to St George on the site of a temple was honoured with an inscription celebrating the victory this symbolised over the demons of the pre-existing temple (quoted at beginning of this work).[40] The inscription included a date of 22 March 515 and was situated within the fabric of the church, along with reused stones bearing ex-voto dedications to Theandrites, the local god of the former temple.[41] An indirect temple conversion is also implied in an inscription dated to 517/8, located within a church in nearby Busr el-Hariri, which refers to the "undesired building that was in this place before".[42] However the epigraphic record provides little evidence for conversions until the 6th century, which is not necessarily a reflection on the chronology of temple conversion, but probably denotes a broader trend by which Christianity in general does not fully embrace the medium until this time.[43] Moreover with the exception of the temple at Dendur none of the above-mentioned sites actually appear to be direct conversions and we know that indirect temple conversions have a much broader timeframe, stretching back well into the 4th century (Fig. 5).

A less precise form of archaeological dating is that provided by stylistic observations, based on the architectural decoration or other diagnostic features of the church built in the temple, i.e. simple and often contentious connoisseurship. An example is the dating of the Erectheion to the 7th century based on the apparent crudeness of the ornament. It also is argued that this date fits well with the historical context: Frantz and Spieser placed the three principal converted temples of Athens into the period

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[37] Holum 1999. See also the latest excavation reports on the Caesarea website at <www.digcaesarea.org> (January 2001).

[38] Hohlfelder 1982.

[39] Deichmann 1939, 123; Bowman 1986, 193.

[40] Chuvin 1990, 141; Trombley 1995a.

[41] The consecration of the 5th or 6th century basilica at Paleopolis on Corfu similarly mentions that the bishop Jovianus had destroyed temples and replaced them with the church (Saradi-Mendelovici 1990, 49, n. 29; *CIG* IV no. 8608).

[42] Trombley 1995a, II. 377.

[43] As Trombley observed from detailed studies in the Near East (1995a, II. 56-7).

subsequent to the Slav invasion of 580.[44] Several other direct conversions have been dated in this way, for example the Temple of Rome and Augustus in Ancyra and the temple-church at Elaiussa-Sebaste. However the diagnostic characteristics of ground plans that are often used to provide comparative dating in church architecture, are often more difficult to interpret in direct conversions due to the impact of the temple on the geometry of the subsequent church. Likewise with indirect conversions, where the ground plans are often less effected, but the quantity of reused elements can compound efforts to date churches by their architectural decoration (see the Clifftop Temple at the Corycian Cave and the church at Canbazlı in Chapter 6).

For some sites we are fortunate to be able to present the most suitable interpretation from both the historical sources and the archaeological evidence. The Christianisation of the Temple of Jupiter at Heliopolis (Baalbek) involved the construction of a church on the site of the altar lying in front of the temple, which was dismantled and its fabric used to build up the level of the courtyard (Fig. 58). The date given for both these activities is based on the accounts of Malalas and the *Chronicon Paschale*, as AD 391.[45] However Lassus reasonably argued that the form of the church suggested a later date. The triple-apsed sanctuary and the dividing arcades with pillars are more characteristic of the late 5th or 6th century. In order to incorporate the historical sources into the argument he suggested that the temple itself was used for Christian worship from the late 4th century, before increasing demand necessitated a larger church, constructed outside the temple but within the temenos.[46]

READING A CHRONOLOGY FOR TEMPLE ABANDONMENT, DESTRUCTION, REPLACEMENT AND CONVERSION

The considerable extent of building conversion in late antiquity has already been discussed in this work (Chapter 3) and in a period when architectural reuse was a widely accepted practice, we unsurprisingly find that many different kinds of building are reconfigured as churches. Often the pre-existing monument influenced the form of the new building and we have observed that different scales of churches could be built by employing the standing remains of temples in different ways and to greater or lesser degrees (Fig. 66). It seems very likely in the light of this, that once we enter a period when direct temple conversion becomes feasible, temples in a reasonable state of preservation were generally not destroyed or razed for the purposes of constructing a church (Figs 3-5).

So how far it is possible to understand chronological details of temple conversions from a structural investigation of the standing remains? Is it the case for example that a temple-church that incorporates

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[44] Frantz 1965; Spieser 1976.

[45] Malalas 344; *Chron. Pasch.* I. 561; Ragette 1980.

[46] Lassus 1947, 246. See Chapter 5 on the idea of non-structural temple conversions.

much of the pre-existing structure intact had a relatively short period of abandonment? Contrarily, could a church that included only fragments of a pre-existing temple be indicative of a longer period of abandonment, during which time the temple had been exposed to the destructive forces of natural disaster and human agency. These notions have formed the basis of several speculative attempts to date temple conversions.[47]

These are undoubtedly difficult arguments to maintain. Once abandoned, temples could either quickly become wealthy sources of *spolia* or they could be maintained in the interest of urban preservation.[48] Legislation enacted in the 4th and 5th centuries certainly highlights the problems of rapid spoliation. But in reality the solidly built temple could and should have survived for centuries and their degradation may not have been as rapid as some suppose.[49] In most places tectonic forces may well have played a more crucial role in their ultimate fate than Christian activists. So at Scythopolis, a temple at a busy intersection of the late antique city appears to have fallen into disrepair, but was still intact when it was destroyed by an earthquake in the middle of the 8th century.[50] Moreover many temples might have been given over to short-term and transient functions prior to their conversion to churches (see Chapter 5), which would also have ensured the preservation of their structure intact.

By means of illustration, we find that the extreme cases of temple preservation are predictably found in Rome.[51] The Temple of Venus and Rome was apparently the last functioning temple in the city and was closed probably around 391. It was supposedly preserved virtually intact until 624 when Honorius controversially removed the bronze tiles for the re-roofing of St Peter's.[52] The oratory built on the site between 757-67 appears to have been fairly non-intrusive and was certainly not substantial enough to have any great impact on the structural fabric of the temple. Only in the construction of S. Maria Nova in 847 is the layout of the site altered and then in a relatively superficial sense. In addition, the Pantheon was still perfectly preserved at the time of its conversion to a church in 609, the first recorded temple conversion in the city and in the 9th century the virtually intact Temple of Portunus was also converted (Fig. 32).[53] In contrast, two centuries later, the three republican temples in the Forum Holitorium were clearly in a state of advanced decay when the Church of S. Nicola in Carcere

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[47] This was Gough's interpretation of the temple conversion at Sebaste in Cilicia (Gough, M. R. E. 1954), and a similar observation was made by Taylor and Yonge regarding the cella/mausoleum built into the ruined church at Stone-by-Faversham (Taylor and Yonge 1981, 129).

[48] Libanius for example complained that blocks from temples were being acquired to build houses (*Or.* XVIII. 126). See Callot 1997 for archaeological illustration of this practice.

[49] Contra. Ward-Perkins 1984 (p. 63) who argues, admittedly from more convincingly Western evidence, that temples were rapidly spoliated if un-maintained.

[50] Tsafrir and Foerster 1997; Walmsley 1996, 139.

[51] Krautheimer 1980, 35ff, 65-72.

[52] Ward-Perkins 1984, 90.

[53] Krautheimer 1980, 166; Steinby 1995, 281-4, fig. 113; Coates-Stephens 1997, 216-7.

was built from their remains (Figs 46-8). This latter example, along with the nearby converted Republican temple on the Largo di Torre Argentina (AD 1128) are two of the latest direct temple conversions known from the medieval world.[54] Even within a single city then, the levels of preservation varied between different buildings, making any degree of generalisation highly problematic. In another example the direct temple conversions of Agrigento and Syracuse took place in the late 6th century and 7th centuries, surely a long time after they had ceased to function as locations for pagan worship.[55] Nevertheless the pre-existing temples were in near perfect states of preservation at the time of their conversion.

We can see therefore that in some places temples were preserved for long periods of time after their closure. Despite the contrary picture we get from the historical sources, we should probably accept that old age and gradual dilapidation were the main contributors to the demise of the temples, and that fewer met their fate through invasion, violence or plunder.[56] Hence the notion that a church containing substantial intact portions of a temple can somehow indicate a short period of abandonment between functioning temple and church can be jettisoned entirely.

The archaeology of individual sites will often provide us with at least a relative chronology for the pagan and Christian usage. This is the case for the sanctuary of Mên Askaênos near Pisidian Antioch, even though the church was built some distance away from the sacred precinct. Here it was observed that the doorway to the temple was blocked and the monument itself razed to the level of the podium.[57] This was presented as a single event but is much more likely to signify two stages in the final demise of the temple: first the blocking of the doorway and later the dismantling of the temple. These activities could easily be separated by as much as half a century if we follow the legislation, which this remote sanctuary admittedly might well not have done.[58] The subsequent church built on the approach to the site reused the lower courses of the temple and some blocks from the temenos wall in its construction. This site therefore presents an important relative chronology for the closure and destruction of a temple and its replacement with a church, built from the temple remains, although it has not been possible to establish an absolute chronology. In a similar example, the material from the original Roman structure at Stone-by-Faversham in Britain was reused in successive phases of the church, although with less frequency in later stages. This provided a gauge to the relative chronology.[59]

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[54] S. Nicola in Carcere: Krautheimer 1980, 189; Steinby 1995, 299. Largo Argentina: Steinby 1995, 299, 247-8, fig. 97.

[55] *Vita San Gregorio*, Lib. Pont. *PG* 98, 709; Trizzino 1988; Guido 1958, 36-43.

[56] Ward-Perkins 1984, 33ff.

[57] Mitchell and Waelkens 1998, 85-6.

[58] Closure of temples in 346 (Cod. Theod. XVI 10, 4) and destruction of rural sanctuaries in 399 (XVI 10, 15).

[59] Taylor and Yonge 1981, 129.

The chronological framework for temple-*spolia*-churches and temenos-churches is certainly very different from that of the direct conversions (cf. Figs 4, 5). The practice of reusing temple remains seems to have been widely accepted by the late 4th century, in the cases for example of the Cathedral at Gerasa and the Church of St Peter at Baalbek.[60] The context for the use of temple *spolia* changes through time however. From the late 4th century the remains of some temples were built into new churches after the destruction of the temple. By the late 5th century however we can imagine that temples had become a source of building material for churches primarily because they were already in a state of collapse and decay, as a result of a long period of neglect. This appears to have been the case with a number of Cilician examples, as we shall see later. Palmyra presents an interesting reflection on this issue, since there is evidence of two 4th century churches built from the remains of earlier structures, a temple destroyed in the late 4th century and two separate direct temple conversions, perhaps undertaken in the middle of the 6th century.[61] However the overall time frame for indirect conversions is much shorter than for direct conversions and we see that there are no attested examples after the early 7th century (Fig. 5). It seems clear that in most places by this time, temples had either survived sufficiently well in order to warrant their direct conversion, or alternatively had become so denuded that their remains would be barely recognisable in the churches built as their successors.

It would seem that with our existing data set, the potential for the decipherment of the chronology of conversion from the structures themselves is limited. The factors affecting temple preservation were simply too varied. Archaeological studies alone can however provide us with intriguing evidence that can allude to a relative chronology for the evolution of a site from pagan to Christian. However churches that incorporate substantial remains of a temple intact were not necessarily early conversions. Such structures simply tell us that the temple had been preserved either by intention or chance, until the time that the church was built.

CONCLUSION: CONSTRUCTING A CHRONOLOGY OF CONVERSION

Unlike the conversion of temples, the use of secular buildings as churches was probably rarely a cause of social conflict as it effectively solved the problem of building dereliction. We therefore find churches built in such contexts from around the middle of the 4th century and continuing throughout late antiquity. Temple conversions of the 4th and early 5th centuries are almost entirely of the indirect variety. This includes churches built on the sites of demolished temples and those built adjacent to temples that were-still standing, sometimes incorporating their temenoi into the overall design scheme.

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[60] See also numerous other examples from Oriens, like the temple remains in the late 4th century church at Touron in Northern Syria (Trombley 1995a, II. 275-6).

[61] Collart and Vicari 1969, 76; Gassowska 1982. See my re-dating of the temple conversions to the 6th century, above p. 109.

In all cases the churches might have been built in part from the relocated remains of their predecessors. This is consistent with a historically attested period of aggression against the temples and also a time when the construction of churches within city centres becomes more feasible. Temple-*spolia*-churches are however identifiable in a broader context as a 4th to 6th-century solution to the issue of urban preservation and as such the reuse of temple remains in this way is not exclusively limited to circumstances of aggression, as we shall see later with the 6th century temple-*spolia*-churches of Cilicia.

Direct temple conversions are not attested with certainty before the middle of the 5th century, either archaeologically or historically (Fig. 4).[62] Until this time, for whatever reason, it is not possible to preserve temples within the fabric of new churches. This study has therefore essentially upheld Hanson's hypothesis that direct temple conversions did not occur until after 435. However, in the light of my arguments regarding the actual intention of the 435 law we cannot be sure that it was actually responsible for the commencement of direct temple conversion. At the very least we must accept that the evidence does not show that there was a sudden spate of *direct* conversion activity after 435. Although direct conversions appear to begin from around this time, there is great diversity in regional trends, which extends in terms of variability right down to civic level, as we find at Ephesus, Rome or in the case of the Temple of Isis at Philae in Thebais, which remained open and where cult activities continued well until into the 6th century.[63] The latter case in particular reflects the interplay of very specific local and regional developments and cultural identities, and its apparent non-conformity to the framework of the Code is amplified by the remoteness of the region. This kind of diversification is intimately tied to the rate of Christianisation within individual communities and even this could vary considerably even between neighbouring settlements.[64]

Therefore the temple-church should probably be seen more as a symptom of local circumstance rather than a centrally motivated one. Little else can explain the chronological variance between for example the conversions of Cilicia (probably 5th century), Athens (5th–6th century), Sicily (7th century) and Rome (7th century and later). In most places it must have been a particular set of local circumstances that created the possibility for temple conversion and as such each city would have a different "temple-conversion period". While the legislation of the Theodosian Code does not therefore necessarily explain why temples were not directly converted until the middle of the 5th century, it must be recognised that Leo and Majorian's law of 458 seems considerably more appropriate to the

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[62] The single exception is a reference to a converted temple by Gregory of Nazianzus (see above, p. 112).

[63] Ephesus: Foss 1979. Philae: Nautin 1967; Bagnall 1993, 261-308.

[64] In Northern Syria Trombley observed significant variations from massif to massif and even between individual and adjacent villages (Trombley 1995a, II. 311-12). For an overview of regional variation in Christianisation see Geffcken 1978 (pp. 223-5).

ethos of the direct temple conversion, than Theodosius' of 435 which orders the destruction of the temples prior to the Christianisation of the site.

The relative scarcity of surviving converted temples suggests either that few temples survived into the temple-conversion period of some cities, or that the vocabulary of temple conversion was not a universal one. Indeed we have already seen that from the early 5th century there existed a judicial route from temple to church, yet this does not appear to have been widely acted upon. Could this be attributed to the absence of a vocabulary of temple conversion, both in a structural sense and perhaps also ethically? If the sensitivity of temple sites had precluded their use as churches in the 4th and early 5th centuries then it could be suggested that by the middle of the 5th century, such concerns had in many places become a relatively distant memory. A possible alternative explanation is that some temples were indeed used as churches long before any major structural alteration took place. Unravelling what appears as a period of abandonment for many temples prior to their conversion to churches will be the subject of the next chapter. I will then attempt to illuminate some of these ongoing issues through a detailed study of the archaeological evidence from Cilicia. In the final conclusion to this work we will then be much closer to understanding the vocabulary of temple conversion, and closer to explaining its chronological and sociological context.

CHAPTER 5

BETWEEN TEMPLE AND CHURCH

INTRODUCTION: THE HIATUS BETWEEN TEMPLE AND CHURCH

In the previous chapter we saw that of all the urban monuments available for conversion to churches, the temples were the last in the line. Although cult activities in the cities' temples had in most places ceased by the end of the 4th century, we have seen how the temple conversion does not emerge either historically or archaeologically until at least the middle of the 5th century.[1] This would seem to suggest that in many places a period of abandonment of at least half a century preceded the conversion of the temple sites to Christian uses. The assumed scenario for most temple conversions is therefore one of use-abandonment-reuse.[2] In the first part of this chapter I will attempt to clarify the various means of explaining this hiatus. How were such places perceived when cult activities had ceased and were temples only ever converted into churches or were they also converted to accommodate other "secular" functions? I will also argue that the term "abandonment" used in this context is perhaps a misnomer and that many supposedly abandoned temples may have taken on other roles before their conversion to churches.

Some scholars have explained the period of temple abandonment before re-development as a necessary time of cleansing before reconsecration: an intentional withdrawal from a site. By closing temples and forbidding entrance to them, Christians perhaps believed that the evil spirits residing there would eventually abandon the site.[3] An alternative explanation was also suggested in Chapter 4, that a vocabulary of temple conversion did not emerge until the middle of the 5th century. This vocabulary had two principal facets: the emergence of an architectural tradition that facilitated direct conversion and the emergence of a moral acceptance in the community that temples could be re-employed in this way. This chapter will shed further light on this developing hypothesis.

The key indices of temple abandonment were the cessation of cult activities, the diminishment of patronage and the closure of the temple. Although we know that there was great variation in the

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[1] There are a few exceptions where temples continued to function into the 5th century, for example at Philae (Nautin 1967; Trombley 1995a, II. 225-39).

[2] Milojevič 1997, 347.

[3] See for example Mango 1980, 61.

timescale of these events between different places, most temples appear to have completed this process by the end of the 4th century. Once the vital urban function of a temple site had been removed it was only a matter of time before it either fell into ruin, or it was transformed for some other purpose that might ensure continued preservation. This depended on the rate of spoliation for the monument, the degree of protection afforded to the site by the city or individuals after the closure and very possibly the frequency or severity of earthquakes in the vicinity.

It is unfortunate that the lack of archaeological investigation has led to a paucity of evidence on the actual timescales involved between a functioning temple and its transformation into a church. Rare pertinent discoveries have generally comprised deposits between the temple and church levels.[4] The historical sources reveal little more. The abandoned site of the sanctuary complex of Caelestris in Carthage is reputed in the early 5th century to have been "through disuse over some time, overgrown with the prickly bushes that surrounded it".[5] Similarly, in the time of the emperor Julian, Socrates asserts that the governor of Phrygia "ordered that the temple at Merum [...] should be opened, and cleared of the filth which had accumulated there by lapse of time: also that the statues it contained should be polished fresh".[6] In the latter example the temple and all its furnishings had clearly been preserved intact,[7] although the inference from these examples is that the temples had not been employed for any alternative functions.

What then happened to temples after their closure and before the re-occupation of the site? No doubt many simply became functionless and stood abandoned as in the two examples cited above. Recent anthropological studies however have shown that "the rapid, single-event, permanent abandonment of features or sites without future reuse or reoccupation appears to occur only under relatively unique conditions".[8] Although true to a degree in this context, there is clear variability depending on the degree of cultural change and Hasluck's study of Islamicisation led him to very different conclusions:

> The religious awe attached to ancient places of worship dwindles or dies when it is not continuously reinforced by organisation [...] changes in political and social conditions, especially change of population, of which Asia Minor has seen so much, can and do obliterate the most ancient local traditions (Hasluck 1973, 117-8).

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[4] For example, the eroded floor surface discovered in the Parthenon believed to indicate the continued use of the temple after its closure, but before the church was constructed (Deichmann 1938-9).

[5] Quoted in Macmullen 1997 (p. 53). See Hanson (1978, 260) for a temple in Constantinople that was cleansed and left for a century before a church was built on the site, albeit from a 7th century source.

[6] Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* III 15.

[7] Apparently a widespread phenomenon as evidenced in a law from the Justinianic Code (*Cod. Just.* I. 11, 6) and in other examples cited by Trombley (1995a, 78-9).

[8] Tomka and Stevenson 1993, 192.

Christianisation however did not generally result in demographic change and there are substantial political differences between the "conquests" of the Christians and those of the Ottomans.

Were "abandoned" temples therefore really as derelict as we might suppose? For example it is now recognised that the Erectheion had most probably already been adapted for some unknown function, prior to its conversion to a church in the late 6th or early 7th century.[9] It is perhaps naïve to assume that the closure of a temple necessarily turned the site into a social void. In the first instance we cannot assume that the actual cessation of municipal cult activities at the temples always defined the end of pagan ritual usage of these sites, as is clear from the legislation.[10] The legacy of these places was enduring and traditions associated with such places were embedded within the lives of many communities. So the ironworkers of Hermonthis in Thebais continued their annual visits to the distant and abandoned Temple of Hatshepsut to sacrifice a donkey, and celebrated their visits between 324 and 327 with crude inscriptions.[11] Even a closed temple could still effectively form the focus of veneration, which in any case normally took place outside the building.[12] Trombley has taken this idea further to suggest that in many rural sanctuaries pagan cult practices essentially continued but with a Christian veneer, although his evidence for this is sketchy.[13]

Another possibility already mentioned, is that the precincts of closed temples continued to provide a context for mercantile, fiscal and social activities as they had long since.[14] These may ultimately have spilled over into the former *aedes*, for example at Gerasa, where the Temple of Jupiter was used after its closure for industrial activities. Day-to-day use of the sites and vicinities of pagan cult worship may in many places have continued as normal, but without the cult activities. With the exception of festival days there had been little formality in the way people interacted with temples. Admittedly some temples had been secretive, guarded places, but most performed multi-functional roles in city life, many of which could – in principal – have continued.[15] In their literature however, Christians formulated an alternative view of the temples, as reviled places haunted by pagan demons.

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[9] The lack of evidence for an apse on this intermediate structure has seemingly ruled out the possibility that this was a church (Spieser 1976, 310, n. 4).

[10] See for example Trombley 1995a (I. 12, 15-16; II. 5-6), for the continuation of sacrifices at temples in Egypt after their closure and even after the complete Christianisation of the settlements (II. 220-4).

[11] Bagnall 1993, 269. The early abandonment of this sanctuary was a fate that befell a number of temple sites in the eastern Mediterranean. The ritual environment of the antique city was constantly changing and by the 3rd century it seems that many cults had long been in decline, a situation that has been noticed particularly in Greece and the Nile Valley (Spieser 1976; Geffcken 1978, 26-8; Elsner 1992; Alcock 1994; Bagnall 1993, 261-8; Bradbury 1995, 350-3).

[12] Gassowska has argued contrarily that the form of the Allat temple in Palmyra, where rituals took place on the inside, allowed these rituals to continue unnoticed into the late 4th century (Gassowska 1982; Trombley 1995a, I. 145-6).

[13] Trombley 1995a, I. 147-56.

[14] On the "secular" uses of temple precincts see Stambaugh 1979 (esp. 571-4, 580-88).

[15] Stambaugh 1979.

CHRISTIAN DEMONOLOGY AND ABANDONED TEMPLES

The fate of the temples during this period of uncertainty must in many ways have hinged on how individuals in positions of power perceived these monuments and how such attitudes might have changed over time.[16] It is clear from the historical sources that in some places the abandoned temples had more symbolic functions than simply as servants to local building enterprise. To some they stood as symbols of Christian victory.[17] To others they were proud monuments of a city's cultural heritage and this perception was widely held by Christians as well as pagans.[18] It is certainly very unlikely that abandoned temples were devoid of meaning during this time. Anthropological studies have shown how sites and monuments that had been sacred to ancestors were still treated as sacred sites even by those who had embraced a new religion.[19]

The background to the destruction of temples previously discussed provides the principal indications that some Christians were both apprehensive of their pagan past, and of the potentially damaging nature of its magic and superstition.[20] According to the Fathers of the Church, the temples were places where evil things had taken place and those that remained standing continued to promote immorality. An abandoned temple was the kind of place where you could find "a woman hung up on high by the hairs of her head, and with her hands outstretched [...] her belly cut open".[21]

An apparent fear of malevolent spirits in cult buildings is demonstrated by many Arab commentators on the Islamic conquests, who describe events surrounding the conversion of churches into mosques. Contemporary authors wrote miraculous stories of portentous phenomena such as the collapse of minarets that had occurred during or after the conversion of a church to a mosque. These disasters were generally interpreted by Moslems as the work of Christian black magic and as punishment for the sacrilege committed, although the Christians saw them as miracles.[22] It is not the details of these instances that concern us here but the fact that when something went amiss with a mosque converted from a church, a spiritual significance was apparently ascribed. Hasluck convincingly showed that in

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[16] As outlined by Thornton 1986 and Saradi-Mendelovici 1990.

[17] Jerome, *Ep.* XLVI, 13. This opinion features significantly in many interpretation of temple conversion, see for example Cormack (1990a), Westphalen (1998, 302) and Caseau (1999). See Dagron's important comments on contemporary interpretations of temple conversions (1977).

[18] Saradi-Mendelovici 1990, 50-2.

[19] Carmichael, Hubert et al. 1994, 1-8; Okello Abungu 1994.

[20] Saradi-Mendelovici 1990, 55-6. For a broader historical picture see Pina-Cabral 1992.

[21] Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* III. 21.

[22] Hasluck 1973, 20-36.

the conversion of a church to a mosque, there was not just a material inheritance, but a spiritual one as well, which was not always favourable.[23]

In the transition from paganism to Christianity this seems to have been an enduring perception. Even a long time after a temple had been closed it was clearly required in many cases to perform a deconsecration ritual, and to protect that deconsecration with inscribed crosses.[24] Examples have been found on the main east portal of the Temple of Artemis at Sardis, particularly on the side that faced the later church.[25] At Philae, the crosses, inscriptions and graffiti were carved at eye level and they obscure certain reliefs and hieroglyphs, in particular the Ankh (♀) and the head of Isis, to whom the temple had been dedicated.[26] This common practice was an exercise in protection, and many statues of gods and pagan dignitaries were modified in the same way.[27] There was nothing at all conciliatory about these acts. Christians were not attempting to appropriate or assimilate the gods and emperors by giving them Christian "badges". They were branding them as pagan and employing the cross in order to exorcise all that was evil about the statues and the buildings.[28] Most importantly the symbols ensured that the demons would not be able to return, a concern also expressed in an inscription on the lintel of a Syrian church built within the courtyard of a temple in the village of Saisaniyeh:

> Jesus Christ the Son of God lives here. Nothing evil shall enter! (Alpha)(Cross)(Omega) Iordanes. (Cross) Help! (Trombley 1995a, II. 159).

It seems clear that instilled trepidation or even contempt of temple sites and their demons may in some places have contributed to a period of isolation before temples were converted for Christian uses.[29] Amongst Christians there certainly appear to have been codes of avoidance in place, largely centred on the pagan rituals and sacrifices.[30]

It is however possible to question the views of Hanson and others, that 4th century pagans were generally reviled by Christians, who saw the only future for the temples as just so much rubble.[31] We can indeed expect Gregory of Nazianzus to think highly of his mother who would never shake hands

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[23] Disasters occurring during or subsequent to temple conversions are unlikely to have survived in the Christian sources, unless of course divine intervention miraculously resolved the situation, e.g. *Vita Porphyrii*, 80.

[24] For more examples see Trombley 1995a (I. 98-105).

[25] Foss 1976, 34, 49; Buckler and Robinson 1914, 44, no. 12.

[26] Nautin 1967.

[27] For examples of the power of the cross against pagan statues see Trombley 1995a (I. 41-2). For the negative effects of pagan statuary see Mango 1963 and Cameron 1991 (pp. 209-10).

[28] The persistence of pagan spirits in a converted temple is attested in one example described by Schultze 1985, 150-2.

[29] A view upheld in a number of works, for example Mango 1980 (p. 61).

[30] Brown 1995, 16-19.

[31] Hanson 1978, 257-8.

with a pagan and who averted her eyes from the temples.[32] Yet we can pigeon-hole Gregory with the likes of Maternus Cynegius and Porphyrius of Gaza as part of a handful of individuals whose powers of influence, whether political or social, or expressed through their writing, had tried to give extra momentum to Christianisation in their spheres of influence. We cannot take the activities and opinions of such individuals and apply them on a global scale. During the reign of Constantine would it really even have been possible for Gregory's mother to tell a pagan from a Christian?

Moreover, it is unreasonable to suppose that the belief that pagan temples were wrought with demons, was in any way justified by an *inherent* fear of pagan worship. Any anxiety about pagan monuments was primarily derived from a Christian monotheism that did not deny the existence of the pagan gods, but simply renounced their divine authority, and for this reason branded them as *daimones*.[33] Hence, the friction this caused between the Christian and pagan communities was in many cases nurtured by Christian leaders, attempting to instil their fellowship with inspiration to take action against these people and places, and to fully reject their pagan past. This obviously took place in some places more readily than others, so the extent to which the Christians were actually fearful of the temples themselves may therefore have been over emphasised. Ultimately, the writings of the Church fathers show that Christian orthodoxy was much more concerned with non-conformity within the Church itself, than with the minimal external threat presented by the limited continuation of pagan activities.[34]

In the unstable religious climate of the 4th century it would in many places have perhaps seemed inappropriate either for a church to physically resemble a temple or for a temple to be reused as a church. So by the time that intact temples came to be reused as churches, one might suppose in the first instance that any initial hesitation amongst the masses had dissipated, and secondly that the will to inspire trepidation on the part of Christian leaders may have waned. Another consideration, that Church patrons may actually have been sensitive to the feelings of the pagan community has predictably arisen from studies of the situation in Athens, not of course from Oriens where the impression is usually one of outright provocation and aggression on the part of the Christians.[35]

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[32] Greg. Naz. *Or.* XIII. 9. See also Caseau 1999 (p. 28) for the man in the late 4th century who feared that food in the markets and water in the fountains may at some point in the food chain have come into contact with illicit pagan ritual.

[33] Geffcken 1978, 69-70; Macmullen 1984, 26; Pina-Cabral 1992; Trombley 1995a, 98-108; Macmullen 1997, 140-1.

[34] Fowden 1998, 559-60.

[35] Frantz 1965, 201. This view contradicts Trombley's explanation for the conversion of the temple at Aphrodisias, as a punishment for the activities of the cities' pagans. If so then this was a political manoeuvre that had little to do with the abolition of paganism in the city.

SECULARISED TEMPLES

Emerging through these notions of fear, revilement and avoidance is however a body of evidence suggesting that before the temple-conversion period, temples were already being put to new uses. This is alluded to in a law of 415 in which the emperors acknowledged that temples had already been acquired for new uses, although the Church is not specifically mentioned.[36]

In an era when a substantial body of evidence suggests that the existing built infrastructure of the cities was crumbling, few new secular buildings were raised anywhere in urban centres. We should not be surprised then, to find that temples appear generally not to have been converted into anything other than churches. Yet this was a result of fiscal constraints rather than a lack of demand for urban accommodation, particularly in larger centres such as Constantinople and Antioch, where an ever-increasing body of bureaucrats must have generated something of a market for central urban real estate.[37]

When new components *were* required for municipal or governmental officers, the temples appear to have provided some of the most suitable buildings for appropriation. For example in 335 the *Comes Orientis* was stationed for the first time in Antioch and according to Malalas the Temple of the Muses was used as the Praetorium.[38] Libanius reports a further three temples in Antioch that were converted for secular purposes: a Museion used as a school, a Temple of Dionysus used as a courtroom and one of Athena used as a lawyers' meeting place.[39] He also recommends to Theodosius I that temples should be made into tax collection offices in order to ensure their preservation.[40]

Many temples had already long been used for secular as well as ritual activities, so these changes of functionality might in some cases have been little more than a redefinition of core activities. The fact that Libanius was able to cite three such examples from Antioch, a city with which he was very familiar, tends to suggest that secular reutilisation could have been a much wider phenomenon that is usually envisaged. Palladas describes the use of a temple as a tavern in the late 4th century.[41] Malalas records examples of more transient reutilisation of temples by Theodosius I on the acropolis in Constantinople. Of three temples still surviving there, one was given to the Church, one was "made

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[36] *Cod. Theod.* XVI 10. 20.

[37] On bureaucracy in late antiquity see Kelly 1998.

[38] Malalas, 319.

[39] *Libanius, Or.* I. 102; 45. 26; *Libanius, Ep.* 847.

[40] *Libanius, Or.* XXX. 42.

[41] Palladas, *Greek Anthology* 9. 180 (quoted at the front of this work).

into a gaming room for dice players" and one was made into a carriage-house for the Praetorian Prefect.[42]

Archaeological evidence can also shed some light on non-Christian reuse. At Cyrene one of a group of three small temples was converted to some secular function; the other two were desecrated, burnt out and then sealed.[43] This is a fine example of the inexplicable variety in the fate of the temples, when even the fates of adjacent structures could vary so dramatically. In contrast the small temple on the Embolos in Ephesus, which was restored between 383 and 387, appears to have adopted a redefined role in the celebration of the Christian emperors and city founders.[44] It bore reliefs of the imperial family and also commemorated the civic identity of Ephesus through the incorporation of a reused frieze depicting a foundation legend. Opposing the emperor in the decorative scheme was a panoply of pagan gods and mythological founders of the city. This is a rare moment. The decoration of the temple belongs to a period of public coexistence between pagans and Christians, and on the threshold of a time when such juxtapositions are unlikely to have been possible.[45]

While the ultimate conversion of a temple into a more permanent structure would effectively halt or at least significantly delay the process of denudation, it seems that some temples were employed for more transient functions during this period of decay. Transient functions, in the sense that the building was occupied, but little modification was made and the decay and denudation of the structure generally continued. The attraction provided by the solid, robust shell of a temple is demonstrated even until recent times by the occupation of standing *cellae* for squatter accommodation, for example the Temple of Bel at Palmyra and the so-called "Nabatean Temple" at Umm el-Jimal.[46] In late antiquity the Flavian Temple at Lepcis Magna provided a context for a sprawling ceramics industry and a number of small structures were built within the precinct of the Temple of Baalshamîn at

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[42] Malalas, 345; Dagron 1974, 375ff. The latter was converted from a Temple of Aphrodite and in an interesting reflection on the earlier days of this temple, Malalas reports that a hostel for destitute prostitutes was built nearby. Bagnall records other secular re-utilisations of temples in the Nile Valley before the end of the 4th century (1993, 262-8). Libanius expresses his disproval at his cousins who apparently converted a temple into a house during the reign of Constantius II, but defended their actions with the argument that such actions were legal at the time (*Ep.* 1364.7).

[43] Goodchild, Reynolds et al. 1958.

[44] Foss 1979, 76; Chuvin 1990, 55-6. See Scherrer 1995 (p. 21) for references to the various interpretations of this monument.

[45] On the historical evidence for coexistence in society see Macmullen 1997 (p. 6) and several references in Saradi-Mendelovici 1990 (p. 48, n. 8). Other examples of secular reutilisation include the conversion of a temple into a bath house at Emmatha in Palestine (Taylor 1993, 320).

[46] Before excavations began on the temple of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias, temporary housing had to be removed from within the apse. Gertrude Bell's photographs of the Temple of Bel at Palmyra, taken in 1900, show both the temple and temenos densely filled with mud-brick houses (Bell Archive, A-298, A-299, University of Newcastle upon Tyne). For Umm el-Jimal see de Vries 1998 (p. 160).

Palmyra, prior to the construction of the church.[47] Besides human habitation and industrial workshops other functions might have included use for animal shelters or as storage spaces. The emperor Julian wrote: "See what sort of church the Christians have. If I return there from the Persian war, I shall store hay in the centre and turn the aisles into stables for horses. Then I shall see on what their faith rests". Knowing the sense of irony that characterised the writings of this "pagan" intellectual, here threatening to humble the first Hagia Sophia, one wonders whether he was influenced by the fate of temples he had seen on his journey.[48]

Transient functions may ultimately have been formalised and made more permanent through architectural adaptation. At Umm el-Jimal one or two temples were incorporated into housing complexes during the town's period of intense domestication in the 5th and 6th centuries. This is in despite of an archaeologically attested Christian presence in the city from at least the 4th century, which later was responsible for the conversion of one of these residences into a church, complete with the remains of its temple (Fig. 40).[49]

Besides churches, most other major episodes of building activity in late antiquity involved defences and predictably, the derelict temples occasionally had a role to play here also. The dismantled remains of disused temples often found their way into hastily repaired fortifications, yet the occasional temple – or especially a temenos – in an opportune position was even built into new or rebuilt circuits.[50] At Sagalassos in Pisidia a Doric prostyle temple dedicated to the local deity Kakasbos was rebuilt in the early 5th century as a tower and incorporated along with other nearby structures into a new circuit wall, perhaps rather hurriedly erected in the event of increasing unrest amongst the Isaurians. The temple appears to have been partially rebuilt and increased in height with the addition of a second storey.[51] This is an inventive re-application of what is most likely to have been a derelict monument at the beginning of the 5th century. In fact it remains plausible that the standing remains of the temple and the adjacent heroön dictated in some way the positioning of the fortification wall which took advantage of both the solidity of their construction and their apparent lack of other function.

The evidence presented here suggests that many abandoned temples took on secular functions in the 4th or early 5th centuries prior to their conversion into churches or final abandonment. The varying degrees of preservation such usage could have afforded to the temples might explain the survival of

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[47] Lepcis: Mattingly 1995, 181-5. Palmyra: Collart and Vicari 1969, 87.

[48] Cedrenus, *PG* 121, cols 577-80, quoted in Mainstone 1988 (p. 132). Ironically in 386 the Temple of Aphrodite in Constantinople was - according to Malalas - converted into a garage for chariots (*Chron* 345).

[49] de Vries 1998, 160. A 4th century Christian cemetery was discovered outside the city and the conversion described was Corbett's interpretation of the "Julianos" Church (de Vries 1998, 230).

[50] For example at Isthmia where the long-abandoned Temple of Poseidon was dismantled and reused in the Justinianic fortifications (Spieser 1976, 313).

[51] Waelkens 1993a, 9-12. For a similar occurrence at Isriye in Syria, see Gogräfe 1999.

many into the conversion period of the mid-5th century and later.[52] Secular re-implementations could significantly prolong the life of the temples but perhaps in a way that would not be detectable in the archaeology and with certainly less potential for long term survival than church conversions.[53] It is also worth pointing out that the tension often associated with the appropriation of a temple site by Christians goes way beyond that which might be expected from a secular reuse. We should therefore expect instances of secular conversion to be less widely reported in the sources. Certainly the principal Christian sources are unlikely to have commented on such reutilisations since these in practice contradicted their extremist ways of perceiving these abodes of demons.

THE TRANSITORY CHURCH

Despite the negative portrayal of temples in the Christian sources, the possibility remains that one of these transient temple functions was use as a church. Minor modifications and painting of the interior of a cella would probably go unrecognised in the archaeological record, particularly if the whole temple was later substantially altered.[54]

Christian frescoes and inscriptions have been detected within the adyton of the Temple of Bel at Palmyra, which otherwise underwent no other modification.[55] The carving of crosses on the interior of a temple cella at Sabratha was interpreted as an indication that the structure as been used for otherwise unrecognisable Christian cult.[56] The early-5th-century restoration and possible contemporary Christianisation of the Tetrapylon to the east of the Temple of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias, might also indicate ongoing Christian activities within the temenos and temple, prior to the later structural conversion.[57] Even though Quodvultdeus' account of the appropriation of the Temple of Caelestris in Carthage is probably highly spurious on a number of issues,[58] it does seem to indicate that the bishop was able to create a church from a temple with no apparent structural modification. Constantine apparently cleansed a temple in Constantinople and gave it the name St Menas in honour of the martyr. Although a church was not built on the site until the mid-5th century, a structure dedicated in

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[52] The secular reuse of churches is well documented following the Ottoman conquests, prior to their conversion to mosques, for example the Church of the Pantocrator in Constantinople, which became a storehouse for 20 years before it was converted (Hasluck 1973, 38-41).

[53] A study based on the numismatic evidence from the Temple of Zeus Hypistos outside Neapolis in Palestine, showed continued usage of the site throughout the fourth century, despite a much lower frequency of finds after the reign of Julian. Nevertheless the temple was clearly still being used or at least visited (Hohlfelder 1982).

[54] Vaes 1986, 354.

[55] Lassus 1947, 246; Collart and Vicari 1969, 76.

[56] Schneider 1950, 177. Elsewhere though this kind of evidence has been seen merely as indicative of a deconsecration process.

[57] Smith 1996, 13. Christians obscured a central relief of Aphrodite with an inscribed cross.

[58] Hanson 1978; Chuvin 1990, 74-5.

this way might earlier have formed a focus for worship, particularly that directed at the martyr.[59] There is other historical evidence suggesting that temples were being used as reliquaries before their conversion or destruction. Under Theodosius II the corpse of Ignatios was conveyed to the Tychaion in Antioch. A much earlier example in the 350s, is Gallus' translation of the relics of St Babylas to the vicinity of the Temple of Apollo at Daphne.[60]

In support of this hypothesis we can examine what happens in church building in general in the 5th and 6th centuries: that is the virtual replacement of 4th century and earlier church buildings with new churches, representing the full development of the early Church. When Dura Europos fell to the Persian siege of 256 one of the few pre-Constantinian churches known to us today was preserved.[61] Had the city survived the siege, this church would undoubtedly have been replaced at a later period. Its importance is amplified by the fact that we know little more about church building even in the 4th century, outside the major centres.[62] During the 4th century, Christian populations were growing and churches were on the whole built according to practical needs. As Christianisation progressed more churches were required and many were replaced or enlarged. The growth of the Christian community would in most places have begun to stabilise by the end of the 4th century. Over the next two centuries, those places that had been used for the developing Christian community in the 4th century were on the whole replaced. By way of illustration, a large 5th century church excavated in Iassos, was revealed to have been constructed on the site of a small chapel, which had been completely destroyed for the new church.[63] As the first direct temple conversions do not appear to have occurred before the middle of the 5th century, it is clear that even if temples were already being used as churches, they are likely to have been replaced with more substantial conversions at this time.

A further point of conjecture concerning the demand for available worship space, is one that emerges from reflection on the inner complexities of Christian communities. It is particularly in larger cities that we could expect to see separate places of worship for those disposed towards non-conforming doctrine. Sulpitius Severus recounts the events of the Synod of Ariminum in Italy in 359. Some 400 bishops attended, 80 of whom were Arians, apparently creating a problem of accommodation for their worship within the city: "a separation of parties took place. Our friends take possession of the church, while the Arians select, as a place for prayer, a temple which was then intentionally standing empty".[64] The most significant aspect of this passage is that this use of the temple is recounted without any

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[59] Preger 1901, II. 3 (214-5). 2; Dagron 1974, 376; Hanson 1978, 260. For another example of a temple dedicated to the Christian God before its conversion see Trombley 1995a (II. 145).

[60] This may not have been the temple itself but perhaps to a nearby shrine erected for the purpose.

[61] Wharton 1995, 15-63.

[62] This is the same for urban and rural regions alike, as pointed out by Trombley with respect to the limestone massif of Northern Syria (Trombley 1995a, II. 249-50).

[63] Mitchell 1990, 108.

[64] Sulp. Sev. *Sacred History* II, 41.

comment on either its morality or appropriateness. Severus was clearly writing from the side of the Orthodox and perhaps to him the temple might have appeared to be a perfectly suitable place for heretics to worship. While there may have been an element of sectarianism in this account, the possibility still remains that this individual event reflects a wider practice, whereby expanding and diversifying Christian communities were able to meet their demands on urban space by temporarily using abandoned temples for gathering and worship.

The problem with detection is that we are only dealing with a very short period of time – perhaps 50 years or so – during which these activities might have been taking place. Where the time sequence is longer we can see how evidence of earlier structures might be detected within later conversions. On the Greek island of Sikinos, a domed church was built within the remains of a well preserved distyle-in-antis temple-tomb, probably in the 17th century (Figs 25, 26).[65] The new church entirely replaced an earlier 7th century conversion, which had comprised solely the construction of a templon screen at the east end of the cella and the insertion of new doors flanking the principal cella doorway. The marble slabs and posts of the screen were then reused in the 17th century church. As the doorways could easily have been ascribed to the later period, the templon screen was the vital evidence for the identification of the earlier phase. These elements probably only survived because of the remoteness of the site and the fact that the entire island appears to have been abandoned in the medieval period. The example of Sikinos is therefore exceptional, not only in its geographical location but also in its building history. Importantly it does show that temple structures could become churches with the addition of only a few elements that elsewhere would not have survived.

CONCLUSION

Most temples that were converted to churches survived longer as standing structures than would be expected if the temple had been left un-maintained.[66] Yet because of the delay that often occurred between the closure of the temple and the construction of the church, we can suppose that in most examples this would have been a period of decay. In some places this decay would have been complete by the time of church construction, which would probably result in a temple-*spolia*-church. In other places where decay was less, fabric from the temple could be preserved *in situ*. This gradual denudation of the structure could have been accelerated either through earthquake damage, Christian aggression or appropriation of building material for other works.

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[65] Dawkins 1911-12; Frantz, Thomson et al. 1969.

[66] A classic example is Ankara, where only a single church from sixteen historically attested Christian buildings has survived, and this church was built within the walls of a temple cella. For a list of the other building see Foss 1977 (p. 61).

The perception of the temples expressed in the majority of late antique literature was generally one of contempt and avoidance. This reality may have disguised from us the continuing use of temples and temenoi for non-ritual purposes. The abandonment period is something we must be aware of but it is not necessarily something we can effectively address, simply because it represents a void generally not evidenced in any way recognisable to us today. Many temples survived the 4th century and there is evidence that some were not just left untouched, but that they were also repaired as part of the general upkeep of the urban aesthetic.

Others however may have survived as a result of new functions they acquired, whether domestic, industrial or official. Such activities rarely seem to have left their mark, perhaps reflecting the transient nature of these occupations. These may have been functions that endured in eastern cities until the collapse of municipal institutions in the 7th and 8th centuries. They may on the other hand have been more transient functions that endured until either the natural collapse of the host structures or their conversion to something more permanent, like a church. The possibility that Christians were using temples for worship before formal architectural conversions took place could fall into this latter model. This idea certainly contradicts the notions of what we believe most Christians thought of pagan temples, but nor can we suppose that such perceptions were universally held. However if this hypothesis is found to be valid, it could demonstrate that the direct conversion was not inhibited by a perceived inappropriateness of reusing temples for churches, but pivoted more specifically on the emergence of an architectural vocabulary.

Whichever case, without the final structural conversion, these were not activities that would have ensured the survival of temples and it may be for this reason alone that this aspect in the last days of the pagan temples remains so elusive to our detection. Archaeologically this period might often be undetectable even under excavation, particularly as its traces would probably be removed by the later developments on the site. In the next chapter – a comprehensive study of temple conversions in Cilicia – we will however see that the detailed investigation even of standing remains can occasionally at least allude to the possible existence of intermediate temple functions.

Part II

Case Study of Cilician Churches and General Conclusions

CHAPTER 6

TEMPLE CONVERSIONS IN CILICIA

GENERAL INTRODUCTION*

Through a study of the archaeological and historical sources for temple conversion, this work has highlighted a fundamental problem in the accepted framework of interpretation: that generalisation based on the historical sources is not borne out universally. A provincial study of the end of paganism generally cannot rely on the historically derived framework, because historical evidence is typically patchy on a local level. The situation in individual cities and regions is therefore usually extended from the general picture obtained from the historical and legislative sources. Cilicia presents a typical example for the kind of evidence available for a study of this kind.[1] Yet regional studies have clearly been the most rewarding means of approach, since they underline the diversity and complexity of the debate.

Most importantly they enable the researcher to consider the context of a conversion scenario. Previous regional studies have however focussed on large geographical areas with thin distributions of evidence. In this chapter I will examine the archaeology of provincial Cilicia, a relatively small region, but with an extraordinary wealth and diversity in the material remains from the Early Byzantine period (Fig. 2).[2] I will discuss collectively a group of sixteen churches, for which temple origins have in the past been argued: a group that according to current thinking includes temple-churches, temenos-churches and temple-*spolia*-churches.

The purpose of my study is essentially twofold. First I wish to investigate further some of the key issues raised in the first half of this thesis, through a detailed study of individual monuments. This will enable the evaluation of an archaeological approach to issues of

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*Please note that a separate bibliography is provided for this chapter at the back of Volume 1.

[1] The Christianisation of Cilicia is normally studied as part of Asia Minor, see Ramsay 1897 (511ff), Hild 1990, Mitchell 1993, vol. 2 and Trombley 1995a (II. 74-133).

[2] For a general overview see Hill 1996 and Hellenkemper 1994. For the Cilician Plain see Bayliss 1997 and Mietke 1999.

conversion technique, tradition, and the chronology of conversion. The second principal objective is to assess the arguments and evidence that scholars have presented to demonstrate that the churches in question were in some way influenced by the pre-existence of a pagan temple. Cilician architecture has been the focus of archaeological investigations since the late 19th century and as such, much valuable information has been available and reprocessed by subsequent scholars. Since the 1950s the early Christian architecture of Cilicia has emerged from relative obscurity, thanks largely to the work of Michael Gough, Otto Feld and more recently Hild, Hellenkemper and Hill. Cilicia now plays a pivotal role in any discussion of early Christian architecture in the Near East, as emphasised by Stephen Hill in the most recent study of the region's churches.[3] The earlier work has obviously left its legacy though and the often-questionable observations of these early travellers have found their way into modern interpretation. My investigation will therefore provide a case study on the diagnostic features of temple conversion and enable us in the future to make more critical judgements on this issue.

Detailed architectural studies are notoriously dull, so I have attempted to provide an appropriate level of illustration to illuminate the text and leave as little as possible to the imagination. In addition I have endeavoured to stick rigidly to the discussion of those churches argued to have been constructed from temple remains, and will not therefore be presenting detailed studies of church planning. It is however worth beginning with an overview of construction materials, since some regional trends will be observed that are significant in this discussion. With notable exceptions,[4] we can subdivide eastern and western Cilicia into two regions defined by distinctive church construction techniques. In western (Rough) Cilicia, where most churches were constructed with freshly cut stone, the character of the fabric is represented by low courses of medium-sized blockwork with upper courses (gallery level) constructed from much smaller blockwork, for which German scholars have employed the useful compound noun *Kleinquaderwerk*. The technique of a rubble and mortar core predominated. The churches in east are very different. Here the use of large-scale quadratic masonry prevails with much material in reuse. The size of the blockwork often meant that church walls were just a single block in thickness, friction bonded and with no core. As we shall see this variation in the style of construction also has implications on the reuse of earlier structures for church construction.

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[3] Hill 1996, xxi-xxvi.

[4] Like Anemurium, where distinctive local raw materials influence construction technique (Russel 1980).

This variation is tied to the stark topographical contrast between east and west: the plain and the rough. In the west, Cilicia Tracheia is characterised by the rugged uplands of the Taurus Mountains, cut by great gorges leading to an abrupt coastline, with sporadic river deltas and natural harbours providing the foci for settlement (Fig. 2). The inhospitable and sparsely settled coastline west of Anemurium also contrasts with the stretch between Seleucia and Lamos, which appears to have been more densely settled and included the ancient upland tribal centre of Olba and the ports of Corycos and Elaiussa-Sebaste. The communication and resource infrastructure of the rugged coast appears to have been fairly well established: roads connected all the cities and an extensive water supply system awaits further investigation.[5] In addition to the numerous ports there are also pockets of fertile land in the uplands, which attracted settlements that prospered well into late antiquity. Despite the "rough" terrain these settlements were well connected to one another and to the coastal strip.[6]

In the east lay the great fertile and maritime plain of Cilicia Pedias, formed by deposition from its three rivers, the Cydnus, the Sarus and the Pyramus, and associated with each of these a great city: Tarsus, Adana and Anazarbus respectively (Fig. 2). The Cilician Plain is surrounded by a wide sweep of the Taurus Mountains on the west and north side and the Antitaurus range to the east. It was always important strategically: to the north the Cilician Gates led through the Taurus into Anatolia and in the southeast the Amanus Gates opened the way to Syria. Between these and the cities of the plain, a dense network of roads developed during the Roman period. Its situation as gateway between Asia Minor and the Orient has ensured the significance of the Cilician Plain throughout its long and tumultuous history.

Cilicia in Late Antiquity

In Cilicia as elsewhere in the Greek East, Christianity gradually superimposed existing pagan practices, belief systems and the ritual infrastructure, in some aspects with more transparency than others.[7] Only a handful of temples have survived in Rough Cilicia, most notably at Diocaesarea, Seleucia and Elaiussa-Sebaste, although others are known in the region from historical and epigraphic evidence.[8] Of the two major cities on the Cilician Plain, Tarsus and

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[5] Hellenkemper and Hild 1986, 123-134.

[6] The road system was continuously repaired in late antiquity, at least well into the 6th century (Keil and Wilhelm 1931, pls 36-7,57, figs 105-6, 179; MacKay 1968).

[7] For an overview of paganism in Cilicia see Mitchell 1993, vol. 1.

[8] Two important volumes of epigraphy from western Cilicia have recently been published (Hagel and Tomaschitz 1998; Tomaschitz 1998). For the evidence from Elaiussa-Sebaste see Kirsten 1974, 789. Keil and Wilhelm disputed earlier claims that the columns and low walls surviving to the east of the "Land

Anazarbus, the latter preserves by far the most visible archaeological record, yet no definite remains of temples. A decastyle temple is shown on local coinage, but Gough's attempt to associate it with the row of columns outside the North Gate is flawed (see below, *Anazarbus*). The best-documented cult site in the plain is that of Artemis Perasia at Heirapolis Castabala, although the temple itself does not survive (see below, *Hierapolis Castabala*). Perhaps the most widely renowned of all Cilician cults could be found at Aigeai (mod. Yumurtalık), a city that boasted a famous healing sanctuary of Asklepios, the location of which has not been identified.

The first overview of the ecclesiastical organisation of Cilicia comes with the Council of Nicaea (325) when the presence of only four Isaurian (Rough Cilician) bishops are mentioned, with nine attested from Cilicia (the plain).[9] Although Council lists are an inadequate gauge of Christianisation, specific historical evidence of significant events or individuals is even more sparse. The region appears sporadically in the literature that has shaped our understanding of the Christianisation process, for example the Sanctuary of Asklepios at Aigeai is mentioned by Eusebius, who singles it out as one of the few places targeted by Constantine in his brief foray against paganism. Despite the claim that the emperor destroyed the sanctuary, Libanius was still able to receive healing there in 371, apparently after the sanctuary had been given a new lease of life under Julian.[10] The *Miracles of St Thecla* provide the only window into events at a local level, dealing briefly with the Saint's pivotal role in the "cleansing" of the city of Seleucia in the 5th century (see below, *The Life and Miracles of St Thecla*).

The archaeological evidence has undoubtedly provided the most striking testament to the prosperity, wealth and piety of this region in late antiquity. This is the case not only for cities like Anemurium but also for their rural hinterlands.[11] Less famous but perhaps more dramatic however is the apparent expansion of Corycos from the mid-to-late 3rd century as the

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Castle" at Corycos could be identified with a temple. Kirsten has suggested that the remains in this area are of a forum or Caesareum (Kirsten 1974, 793). This lies to the south of what appears to be a gateway with an interior court, similar to arrangements found at Perge and Sillyon in Pamphylia.

[9] The bishop of Anazarbus may have attended, but was not mentioned on the list since his loyalties lay with the Arian Creed (Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 85).

[10] Eusebius, *Vita Const.* II, 56; Libanius, *Or.* I, 143; Macmullen 1997, 125, n. 68.

[11] Anemurium: Russel 1980, 1986. In addition to the excavations of a late Roman villa near Karatepe (Rossiter and Freed 1991), the most significant recent investigation of a rural site in Cilicia has been carried out by Gabriele Mietke at Akören (1995; 1996; 1999b). The signs of opulence observed here are part of a wider pattern of rural prosperity observed most famously in Syria (Tate 1992; Foss 1995) and Lycia (Harrison 1963; Foss 1991).

principal port of eastern Rough Cilicia (Cilicia I), at the expense of the former metropolis at nearby Elaiussa-Sebaste.[12] At least thirteen churches survive to demonstrate that Corycos became a significant Christian city in this period although the later medieval and modern development of the site has impaired any broad understanding of the urban centre.[13] Most of these churches appear to date from the Early Byzantine period, particularly the late 5th and 6th centuries. Four massive basilicas flank a sarcophagus-lined roadway running north-east from the city in the direction of Sebaste. These churches are not only immensely important in terms of the architectural history of the region but their situation and mere presence also suggest that this particular city had some great religious significance above and beyond the provision of worship centres for its own population.[14] This Christian "over-development" of the region is also apparent in the provision of four substantial and elaborate churches for the small settlement of Kanytelis in the hinterland of Sebaste. The impetus appears to have been provided by the dramatic sinkhole around which the churches clustered, as is also evident with the Christianisation of the similarly situated Corycian cave in the hinterland of Corycos.

The apparent declining fortunes of Sebaste after the mid-3rd century seem not therefore to have affected its territory, given the wealth apparently finding its way into the Christian development of Kanytelis. Moreover this was clearly not the end for Sebaste itself. At least 4 churches have been identified archaeologically and it was attested as the seat of a bishop, although his absence from the principal 4th century councils at Nicaea (325) and Constantinople (381) may be significant.

In the 5th century we find the redevelopment and considerable expansion of the nearby pilgrimage sites of St Thecla (Meryemlik) and Alahan. This was a time when cities began to adopt new Christian patrons as successors to the pagan urban protectors, for example at Tarsus (St Paul) and Seleucia (St Thecla). Many of the churches built in this period were vast in scale and several were highly innovative, as the famous Isaurian builders explored the composition of basilica and centralised church forms which manifested itself as the domed

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[12] After the 260s, the funerary evidence attests to a shift of wealth from Sebaste to Corycos, which has been attributed to the silting of the former's harbour or devastation at the hands of Sapur I (Machatschek 1967; Kirsten 1973; Equini Schneider 1999b). For the effect of the Sasanian invasions of the late 3rd century on Cilicia see Mitchell 1993, vol. 1, p. 238.

[13] Except for subsequent investigations of the churches, the only substantial study at Corycos was carried out in 1930 (Herzfeld and Guyer 1930), and the city is now increasingly threatened by the development of modern Kız Kalesi as a tourist resort.

[14] Hill 1996, 124-143.

basilica.[15] There was clearly a large quantity of wealth being invested into the Cilician ritual landscape, probably resulting from a combination of a thriving rural economy, the increasing revenues from pilgrimage and imperial benefaction, particularly under the reign of Zeno (474-91). The role of this Isaurian emperor has perhaps been overemphasised as a contributing factor and as more studies of the rural landscape are carried out we will surely see a similar pattern of hinterland wealth in the 5th and 6th centuries as that evidenced in Syria and Lycia.[16]

While speculation has surrounded the involvement of Isaurian emperors with the affairs of their native land, much of this is derived from the notion that grand edifices can only have existed as the result of central financial subsidisation. By definition it is implied that local communities were unable to produce such works from their own funds. In practice the actual evidence for imperial fiscal involvement in Cilicia is based on a historical reference to Zeno's benefaction of St Thecla's shrine outside Seleucia.[17] The subsequent extension of this argument has resulted in the impression that Zeno was by far the most significant element in the development of Cilicia's distinctive Christian architecture.[18] Gough has argued that Zeno's exceptional patronage of his native land can further be recognised in a tradition of church mosaics depicting the Peaceful Kingdom of Isaiah.[19] Zeno's *Henotikon* (Edict of Union) was published in 482 to promote reconciliation between Monophysites and Chalcedonians.[20] Gough argued that the spirit of the *Henotikon* manifested itself artistically in these mosaics, which depict carnivorous lions and leopards sharing a moment of harmony and mutual respect with sheep and goats.

Archaeologically we can probably infer the influx of external wealth and perhaps Imperial patronage into Cilicia at the site of Ak Kale to the east of Sebaste. This harbour probably originally simply served the inland settlement of Kanytelis, but in late antiquity it was the focus of an expansive and ambitious building project. The substantial remains comprise a large "manor house" or "seaside villa", complete with a grand spiral staircase, a large cistern, probable bath buildings and an audience chamber. The consistency and obvious wealth of Ak Kale's palatial architecture, has lead some scholars to suggest that it was erected as a summer

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[15] Mango 1966; Hill 1996.

[16] See above, n. 11.

[17] Evagrius, *Eccl. Hist.* III. 8

[18] For example Hill 1996, 212.

[19] Gough 1955, 59-62, fig. 5, pls V-VI; Gough 1972, 210-2; Hild, Hellenkemper et al. 1984, 336-344, figs 66-68.

[20] Evagrius, *Eccl. Hist.* III. 14; Maas 2000, 132-3.

retreat for some distant emperor. An inscription discovered in the great cistern bears the name of Zeno's general Illus, who may therefore have had something to do with this complex during his turbulent time spent in Cilicia in the late 5th century.[21]

The nature of the settlement in Rough Cilicia contrasts with the situation on the Plain, which is characterised by the existence of several large cities of considerable wealth and opulence as expressed in the surviving archaeology of sites like Anazarbus and Castabala. This part of Cilicia has always presented something of a demographic enigma. While Rough Cilicia oozes minor rural settlement, evidence of habitation in the plain is sparse. A handful of substantial metropoleis competed fiercely with each other for imperial honours, yet there is little else on the plain, perhaps attesting to the semi-nomadic lifestyle of most of its inhabitants. Predictably then, the hills above the plain are riddled with settlements and even until recently the people of Anavarza (anc. Anazarbus) sought summer refuge from the malaria-ridden marshlands by heading for the more hospitable uplands.[22] Transhumance may well have been a necessity for survival.

Such lifestyles make little impact on the archaeological record, leaving us merely with the cities. Even here we must rely predominantly on historical records. Several of these cities, most notably Tarsus, Adana and Flavias, have continued as centres of population into modern times, while the rest still lie abandoned as expansive ruin-fields. The most important city on the plain, Tarsus, was also the most enduring and as such little remains for us to study archaeologically. If Anazarbus, the second city on the plain, can provide a frame of reference then Tarsus must have been fine indeed, such is the evident extent of the Anazarbus' late antique building activities, which included massive and innovative churches, baths, expansive fortifications and a substantial water supply system.[23] It is in this region that we could begin to theorise on the spatial dynamics of urbanisation in late antiquity, although much groundwork survey still needs to be done before we can even reach an understanding of merely the surviving surface material. The fact that Cilicia does not provide us with a Gerasa or an Aphrodisias necessitates that the focus of this study will remain primarily on the archaeology of the specific structures under discussion, with less consideration of their broader urban context.

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[21] Hagel and Tomaschitz 1998, 21.

[22] This appears to have been a tradition not restricted to the plain and was observed in the early 1950s by Gough at Ayaş (Gough, M. R. E. 1954, 52).

[23] Gough 1952.

Both through the archaeological and the epigraphic records it becomes clear that Cilicia thrived under Christian patronage in the 5th and 6th centuries and as a result it presents a valuable opportunity for a regional investigation into the physical impact of Christianisation. The large body of reasonably well-dated late Roman remains enables us to examine the mechanics and logistics of church construction in both urban and rural settlements together, through direct reference to the archaeological record.

CILICIAN TEMPLE CONVERSIONS

The following section forms the core of this thesis, comprising a detailed investigation of the known and the supposed temple conversions of Cilicia, organised loosely by region, from the "Rough" to the "Plain". Sites within the regions are ordered subjectively from the most certain examples of temple conversions to the least, although multiple examples on a single site are considered collectively. The resultant order is as follows: Diocaesarea (Uzuncaburç), Seleucia, Elaiussa-Sebaste, the Corycian Cave, Kanytelis (Kanlıdıvane), Çatı Ören, Meryemlik, Canbazlı, Dağ Pazarı, Olba, Epiphania (Erzin), Castabala, Anazarbus and Flavias.[24]

Of the seventeen possible temple-churches on these fourteen sites, only those at the first four sites are certainly temple conversions and can still be seen as such today. The similarities in the conversion scenarios adopted at Seleucia and Diocaesarea have already been observed by Hellenkemper and will be explained and expanded upon below.[25] The visible remains of the temple conversion at Elaiussa-Sebaste (Ayaş) show that a small church was built across the width of a temple podium and that the peripteros was partially dismantled and partially walled up. Michael Gough excavated this site in the early 1950s but I will demonstrate that the surviving extant remains reveal far more than was originally recognised.[26]

The hinterland of Corycos and Elaiussa-Sebaste is famous for the great limestone depressions at the Corycian cave (Cennet Cehennem) and at Kanytelis (Kanlıdıvane). Due to the inherent

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[24] The converted secular basilica at Dağ Pazarı is also discussed primarily because a reasonably secure dating for its conversion has been provided numismatically. In the late 19th century Cockerell reported two churches at Cilician Aphrodisias that reused the remains of earlier structures (Cockerell and Cockerell 1999, 184). One of these, the church of St. Pantaleon, has been excavated and consolidated by Budde and the earlier structure is now identified as a bath house (Budde 1987). Little remains of the second church.

[25] Hellenkemper 1995.

[26] Gough, M. R. E. 1954.

experiential and mystical qualities of these vast caverns, they were apparently acknowledged as sacred places from very early times. The Corycian Cave in particular appears in archaic mythology as the prison of the monster Typhon and the remains of at least one early temple have been found. Both sites became the focus of extensive Christian activity in late antiquity. The temple conversion overlooking the Corycian Cave has been studied in detail by Feld and Weber. They were able to clarify that the temple was entirely dismantled before the construction of the church and that only the temenos wall survived the Christian re-interpretation of the site.[27] At Kanytelis no temple has yet been found although it has been suggested that a church on the cliff edge occupies the site of one. Both sites are near the coast and good harbours: from Ak Kale, site of the late Roman palatial complex, a 3km journey would bring the visitor to the Kanytelis and from Corycos it is a similar distance to the Corycian Cave.

Evidence for the other proposed temple conversions is less clear and although we have no reason to doubt Gough's very brief description of the churches at Epiphania, these have since been destroyed so cannot now be examined.[28] It has been suggested that churches at Meryemlik, Canbazlı and Dağ Pazarı were built within pagan precincts and from the remains of razed temples. The presence of apparently over-sized or particularly deep foundation blocks in churches has also led to suggestions of pre-existing temples beneath churches at Çatı Ören, Dağ Pazarı and the Church of the Apostles at Anazarbus. Architectural indications such as the presence of a large quantity of *spolia* and mis-aligned walls have also been employed to infer temple conversions at Olba, Flavias (Kadirli) and again at Canbazlı. The validity of such hypotheses will be examined individually for each site.

DIOCAESAREA (UZUNCABURÇ)[29]

For some cities, like Ephesus and Athens, patron deities loomed large in the ideological makeup of their inhabitants. Yet Zeus Olbios was the very reason for the existence of the Cilician city of Diocaesarea. Before it achieved autonomy under the Romans the site functioned as the extra-mural shrine of the city of Olba, stronghold of the Teucrid dynasty.[30] The ancient city of Olba, at a height of over 1000m and 20km inland, lies some 4km from its

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[27] Feld 1967.

[28] Gough 1955, 202-3.

[29] Bent 1891, 220-1; Keil and Wilhelm 1931, 44-79; MacKay 1968; Kirsten 1973; Gough 1976b; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 239-40; Years of visit: 1993, 1998.

[30] Jones 1971, 209-12; Mitford 1980; Trampedach 1999.

sanctuary site (see below, *Olba*). A narrow paved ancient road between the two cities was still being used in the 1950s when the Goughs visited this region and it can today be seen snaking through the low hills beside the even more circuitous modern track.[31]

When the ritual site was made a city in its own right in the late 1st century AD, this connecting route probably took on new roles for everyday traffic, but its original function must have been primarily as the processional way between Olba and its main sanctuary. The sanctuary took the name Diocaesarea, probably in the reign of Tiberius, and subsequently adopted the trappings of the classical eastern Mediterranean city: intersecting colonnaded streets, a theatre, monumental gateways, nymphaeum and gymnasium (Fig. 67).[32] Despite a relatively compact urban centre, an extensive cemetery attests to a substantial population in the city and its territory. The colonnaded streets pivoted on the axis created by the existing temple and its monumental precinct wall, which also dominated the visual topography of the urban centre (Fig. 68). At the end of the principal urban vista on the west side of the temenos was the propyleum of a well-preserved temple to Tyche, which was set back a further 30m from the street (Figs 68, 69).[33] It appears to have undergone numerous transformations, evidenced by the addition of new openings and the blocking of others. Most of this is associated with its modification for use as a house in the 19th century and there is no evidence that it was ever converted into a church.

The Temple of Zeus Olbios[34]

The Temple

The temple is situated at the west end of the large precinct that formed both the spatial and spiritual heart of the ancient city (Figs 67, 69). This wall is particularly well preserved on the north and west sides and parts of the south side (Fig. 70). Entrance is now made through the north side, from the main street, but this is a fairly recent opening created by the destruction of a house visible on Keil and Wilhelm's site plan and also in Gertrude Bell's photo taken from outside the temple in 1905 (Fig. 71).[35] The original entrance would almost certainly have been made from the east or north-east side of the sanctuary. Several inscriptions were

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[31] Gough, M. 1954, 168.

[32] Keil and Wilhelm 1931, 44-79; Kirsten 1973; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 239-40.

[33] Keil and Wilhelm 1931, 54-6, fig. 80.

[34] Deichmann 1939, no. 67; Keil and Wilhelm 1931, 47-51, figs 67-8, 71; Voysal 1963; Borker 1971; Hild, Hellenkemper et al. 1984, 242-4, fig. 25; Eyice 1988, 20; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 239-40; Paribeni 1990; Hill 1996, 252-4, fig. 56; Wanagat 1999. On the disputed date of the temple see Williams 1974.

[35] Keil and Wilhelm 1931, fig. 22.

located on the interior of the precinct wall, and a number of beam sockets suggest the presence of attendant structures (Fig. 72). The randomness of these suggests later modifications and conclusive evidence for the presence of interior porticoes is lacking.

The first known temple on this site is believed to have been constructed in the 3rd century BC by Seleucus I Nicator, probably replacing an earlier version, yet the surviving capitals can date its present form to the second half of the 2nd century BC. The temple had a hexastyle peripteros with a single circuit of 32 columns (6 x 12) of which 26 still stand to varying heights (Fig. 73). Four of the 2nd-century capitals survive *in situ* and a number of fragments from an elaborate architrave have been collected together within the precinct (Fig. 70). Too little survives to enable speculation on the original form of the cella. If as some suggest, the aisle divides mark the position of the cella walls, then we could imagine it as being particularly elongated, with rather wide ptera (Fig. 74). Although the ground level appears to have risen slightly, it seems that in keeping with Greek tradition there was little in the way of a podium. Nothing survives of the altar but it would most likely have been situated on the east side of the temple.

The Temple Conversion

The most distinctive element of this temple conversion is the incorporation of the peripteros within the exterior walls of the basilica (Fig. 75). Deichmann suggested that the cella was also incorporated, with its long walls modified to act as aisle divides, an assumption that seems to be entirely derived from the fame of the similar Sicilian conversions at Syracuse and Agrigento.[36] Subsequent scholars have preferred the notion that the cella was dismantled down to the height of the church stylobates and then reused in the blocking of the intercolumniations. The remains of this blocking can still be seen on the north side and comprises regular quadratic masonry (Fig. 76). On all sides of the peripteros the columns were slightly chamfered to aid the bonding of the blocking material. About halfway up the columns large sockets survive which once supported masonry tie-beams within the blocking wall. One of these on the north side was still in place when Gertrude Bell visited in 1905 (Fig. 80). At that time much more of the blocking material survived and her photographs also show the presence of windows at gallery level (Fig. 77). Interior sockets cut into the columns of the peripteros indicate the vertical position of the galleries (Fig. 78). These could be accessed via a staircase in the north chamber of the tripartite narthex. In addition to the principal doorways in the narthex, exterior openings were also provided in the intercolumniations of the peripteros on the north and south sides (Fig. 79).

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[36] Deichmann 1939, no. 67.

The apparent absence of an atrium is not surprising for churches built within precincts as we will see later from examples at Canbazlı, Meryemlik and the Corycian Cave. However a stretch of wall can be seen running north from the west end of the basilica before turning west to meet the precinct wall (Fig. 69). Its lowest visible courses comprise tightly bonded, smooth quadratic masonry, not dissimilar to the blocking of the intercolumniations. In a more crude fashion, fluted column drums from the temple were laid on their sides on top of this, perhaps indicating multiple phases. This is further demonstrated by Bell's photographs, which show upper courses of rubble that have since been removed (Fig. 80). This evidence suggests the existence of some kind of enclosure to the west of the church as part of the original design, notwithstanding the lack of a similar wall leading from the south side of the church.

The short east side of the peripteros is followed by the eastern wall of the nave and the apse projects beyond this, involving the removal of the two central columns on this side (Fig. 81). The apse was flanked by side-chambers containing small inscribed apsidioles, creating a stark eastern facade to the structure. The short stretches of wall lying within the aisles towards the east end of the church have been interpreted by Hill as westward extensions to the side chambers, whereas Hild and Hellenkemper believe them to be later additions (Fig. 75).[37] The surviving flooring comprises flagstone paving in the nave with geometric mosaic in the south aisle and *opus sectile* in the north. However the flagstones in the nave are aligned towards the south-east, perhaps indicating that this phase of flooring could be associated with a late Moslem re-development (Fig. 74).

Perhaps the most significant aspect of this conversion is one that has not been explored in any detail by previous scholars: that the surviving columns of the temple do not merely represent random preservation, but reveal vital clues as to the form of the basilica superstructure.[38] Most of the columns on the long sides survive at a consistent level, yet only at about ¾ of their original height. Moreover, a number of these appear to be topped with smaller blocks, which on closer inspection are clearly the remains of a cornice (Fig. 82). We can surmise from this, that the surviving columns indicate the height of the basilica walls and also that all the columns must have survived to at least this height before the conversion.

But how do we interpret the columns that remain completely intact, thereby above the level of the basilica walls: three columns in the north-east corner and two in the south-west? Can we

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[37] Hild, Hellenkemper et al. 1984, 244.

[38] Observed in passing by Paribeni (1990).

assume that they projected above the roof of the church or could they perhaps indicate the vertical extent of the superstructure in these parts of the church? For the north-east corner they might infer the presence either of a transept, or more likely a tower that projected the height of the north-east side chamber (Fig. 84). The columns in the south-east corner no longer survive, so it is not possible to suggest whether this corner also might have featured a similar tower. The higher columns of the south-west corner might also indicate the presence of another tower above the south chamber of the narthex. This is a difficult postulation since only the two southernmost columns of west flank actually survive, so it might be the case that all of the western columns were left at their original height, creating a kind of baroque facade to the narthex.[39]

Striking parallels for such an arrangement of narthex towers can be found in Syria, in churches that were not similarly influenced by extant temple columns. Side-chamber towers were a common feature, particularly in the north; mostly only a single tower was built above a chamber, but sometimes both chambers were thus treated.[40] Although single west-end towers are attested in Syria, for example at Umm is-Sarah, we might perhaps reconstruct the west end of this temple-church in a similar way to Qalb Lauzeh or the now-dismantled church at Deir Termanin, as two towers connected by an open gallery (Fig. 83).[41] The archaeological evidence does however seem to imply that the temple-church at Diocaesarea was equipped with between two and four corner towers. This would be rare indeed as the known Syrian examples only had either eastern or western towers.

Despite efforts to date the temple conversion, Hill is right to point out that none have any solid foundation.[42] Keil and Wilhelm suggested that the high degree of extant preservation of temple material within the church indicated that the conversion took place soon after the "triumph" of Christianity, inferring an early date for the conversion.[43] We can only realistically suggest that the temple was converted not long after the maintenance of the temple ceased and there are too many local factors involved to fix a date for this occurrence.

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[39] Although we cannot tell whether the blocking was continued to the full height of the intercolumniations.

[40] Butler 1969, 177-8. The function of these eastern towers is disputed, although Butler argues that they represent an early form of bell-tower (1969, 210-11).

[41] de Vogüé 1865, pls 123-6, 132-6; Butler 1907, 196; 1969, 130, 71-4, 178. The west end of the church at Qalb Lauzeh was one story shorter than that of Deir Termanin and so is probably a closer parallel to Diocaesarea.

[42] Herzfeld (*AA* 1909, 141), saw a capital on the site which he believed to be 5th century, but this does not help us since it was clearly not *in situ* and could have come from anywhere.

[43] Keil and Wilhelm 1931, 47.

Perhaps closer to the mark, Hild and Hellenkemper support a date in the second half of the 5th century based on the arrangement of the choir and narthex.[44]

The conversion of the Temple of Zeus at Diocaesarea is a classic example of the ingenuity by which temples were moulded to existing basilica formulae. Yet it also gives us new insights into the superstructural arrangements of the temple-churches, for which the temple remains could clearly play a highly significant role. It moreover seems likely that the method of employing the peripteral columns actually reflects the successful imposition of the Cilician-Syrian architectural milieu onto a pre-existing structural framework.

SELEUCIA AD CALYCADNUM (SILIFKE)[45]

The city of Seleucia, situated on the alluvial delta of the Calycadnus River was metropolis of the province of Isauria probably from the time of the Diocletianic reforms. It had its own bishop from at least 325, when his presence is attested at the Council of Nicaea. Unlike many Cilician and Isaurian cities, Seleucia was revived as a settlement under the Ottomans and is now a busy market town. The expansion of modern Silifke has all but removed the remains of the ancient city, which have also been gradually subsumed during the continuous alluviation of the delta. Thus the Roman and Byzantine levels are some 2-3 metres beneath the modern ground surface and it is difficult therefore to gain any general impression of the late antique topography (Fig. 85). The principal surviving monuments are the Temple of Zeus, a medieval castle on the acropolis and an enormous cistern (late 3rd century) associated with which Cockerell observed an aqueduct in 1810.[46] A theatre, Roman bridge, parts of a colonnaded street, stadium and city walls have also been reported as surviving in various states of preservation in the past.

Two important historical accounts provide significant information on the Christianisation of the city. The *Life and Miracles of St Thecla*, an anonymous 5th century hagiography recounts the Saint's miracles against the gods of the city and its environs.[47] Egeria, on her journey to

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[44] Hild, Hellenkemper et al. 1984, 244; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 240.

[45] Keil and Wilhelm 1931, 3-8, figs 8, 10, 13, pls 5-30; Feld 1963/4, 89-93; Budde 1972, 153-163, figs 23-7, pls 168-70; Dagron 1978; Hild, Hellenkemper et al. 1984, 227-8; Dagron and Feissel 1987, 17-26; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 402-6, pls 342-3; Years of visit: 1993, 1998.

[46] The partial remains of a church were discovered in 1977 during construction work and its architectural remains sold to a hotel in Taşucu (Hild, Hellenkemper et al. 1984, 228).

[47] Dagron 1978, 80-94, Mir. 1-4.

the Holy Land stopped off at the Shrine of St Thecla situated outside the city in 384 (see below, *The Shrine of St Thecla*), but also remarks on the city itself in passing.

The Life and Miracles of St Thecla

The final years of Thecla's life were apparently spent on a hilltop outside Seleucia and it was from here that she did battle with the city's pagan cults in death. According to the hagiography, Thecla alone was responsible for the successful removal and replacement the city's pagan gods and holy places. The sanctuary of Athena Kanetis on the acropolis appears to have been transformed into a church dedicated to the martyrs and the mountain itself was rebaptised Mount Kôkysion, thereby restoring its ancient, pre-Roman name. The oracle of Apollo Sarpedonios, probably situated at a cave sanctuary near Holmoi was silenced and replaced by a monastic community. These two deities had featured strongly on the city's coinage from the earliest times and had therefore been fundamental to the identity of the pagan city.[48]

Subsequently Aphrodite was humiliated and chased from the city by a certain Dexianos, empowered by the Saint, although no reference is made either to a temple of Aphrodite or its fate. This was probably the same Dexianos who attended the Council of Ephesus in 431 as bishop of the metropolis. Thecla finally turned to Zeus whom she demonised, criminalised and also banished. His temple was transformed into a church dedicated to St Paul, Thecla's companion and mentor. These events all appear to date from the first half of the 5th century and take prime position in the narrative as the first four of the Saint's listed miracles.

The central importance of the pagan gods to the narrative demonstrates the profound influence of this transition on literary culture. Although the Theodosian Code reveals much about the workings of Christianisation on a state level, such texts show how these changes could be interpreted on a local, provincial level. Whatever emphasis *we* put on the legislation that facilitated these changes, it does not appear in the hagiography as an instrument in the city's Christianisation. This is understandable given the inherent bias of the source, but at the same time we must appreciate the enduring effects such literature would have on local tradition – even legend – with Thecla alone seen to be acting as the prime expedient of cultural change.

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[48] Budde 1972, 158.

As an extension of this point, the *Life and Miracles* also reveal the general lack of impact of the legislation on provincial cult practice. It is strange to think that even after Theodosius' claim in 423 that he believed paganism no longer survived, at Seleucia we can find sanctuaries and an oracle, all apparently active enough to deserve Thecla's attentions. Throughout the text the distinction between pagans and Christians is clearly stated and the difference between paganism and Christianity strongly emphasised. It is difficult to judge how far this reflected a real 5th cultural environment; as Dagron points out this could be a mechanism to create the tone of an epic, or to enhance the miracle stories.[49] In addition it may well be the case that the cults in question had waned by the time of writing and the retrospective attribution of their downfall to the intervention of the city's new Christian protector would undoubtedly be standard practice.

While Thecla is seen as instrumental to the removal of the pagan gods from Seleucia, we get glimpses from elsewhere that these notions of conflict and supremacy were not universal. The tale of a child cured of his blindness apparently through the intervention of the martyr actually takes place in the precinct of a temple at Olba.[50] The child had come to the temple to pray for a cure and there is no suggestion in the narrative that Thecla's role was actually in some way at the expense of the old gods, or that she bettered them somehow in the process. The temple precinct was simply the context for the event. It is more surprising perhaps that the grandfather of the child is later revealed as a priest of a church in the city. This miracle, presumably situated (or at least composed) in the 5th century opens a window into the urban reality of Christianisation where all was certainly not in black and white.

One of the most important aspects of the narrative of Thecla's victory is the theme of restoration that pervades. The renaming of the hilltop sanctuary of Athena Kanetis was portrayed as a righting of a temporary wrong as the hilltop was returned to its original name. This notion also appears in the story of the silencing of the oracle. Restoration is a significant concept in Christianisation and it certainly has a long tradition. Eusebius' justification for the destruction of the Sanctuary of Aphrodite in Jerusalem was the discovery of the Tomb and the argument that the land had been Christian in the first place.[51] The Christianisation of the Holy Land and the Near East proceeded in a similar vein, which signalled Christianity as a return to a natural state after a period of mistake and obscurity. For example, Alexandria was

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[49] Dagron 1978, 81.

[50] Dagron 1978, 350 (Mir 24). The possibility remains that this passage was actually referring to Diocaesarea, where the precinct wall stands even today.

[51] See also Trombley 1995a, I. 135-6.

considered to have been "healed" by the destruction of the Serapeum in around 392.[52] It is in this context that we can perhaps understand how certain character traits of Thecla, the champion of Seleucia's demons, were clearly derived from both Athena and Artemis, the city's former heroes.

Temple of Zeus[53]

The Temple of Zeus at Seleucia is not so well preserved as its namesake at Diocaesarea but we are privileged in this instance that the site has been excavated, the results of which have received a degree a publication (Fig. 86). These were carried out over three seasons between 1980 and 1984 by Çelik Topçu, who produced a detailed plan of the surviving remains (Figs 87, 88). Probably, the most significant point regarding its conversion to a church lies in its similarity with the Diocaesarea scenario, although there is some dispute between Hill and Hellenkemper over the nature of this transformation, which I will outline below. The temple was situated towards the eastern edge of the city, but was within the late antique city walls. Little survives other than the podium and a few columns of the peripteros, primarily on the west and south sides. The site is littered with architectural elements, mainly from the temple and the church, which have received little attention from archaeologists. The dedication of the temple to Zeus was deduced entirely on the basis of the passage from the miracles of St Thecla in which a Temple of Zeus is rebuilt as a church dedicated to St Paul.[54] As the only known temple conversion in Silifke, it seems reasonable that the title should stick, while not being considered conclusive.[55]

The Temple

This was a peripteral hexastyle temple of a Corinthian order with 8 by 14 columns and orientated east-south-east by west-north-west. It was raised on a 2.5m tall podium (Fig. 89) measuring 39.20 x 21.82m, the surviving flagstones of which still preserve the outline of the naos and pronaos. It was apparently accessed by a staircase on the east side, which was probably removed when the church was constructed and the approach to the structure reversed. The accepted dating of the temple to the 2nd half of the 2nd century AD has been deduced from the form of the capitals.

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[52] Brown 1995, 5.

[53] De Laborde 1838, 130; Langlois 1861, 182-93; Keil and Wilhelm 1931, 7-8, fig. 13, pl. 12; Topçu 1981, 1982, 1985; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 404, pl. 342; Hellenkemper 1995; Hill 1996, 240-1.

[54] Dagron 1978, Mir. 4.

[55] Cockerell and later Langlois saw the remains of two other churches in the city that no longer survive.

The Temple Conversion

All elements of the temple above the podium were removed for the construction of the church, with the exception of the peripteros. As at Diocaesarea, the exterior walls of the basilica were apparently formed by blocking the intercolumniations with material from the cella. A single column, situated on the west side, still stands to full height including the capital. Three other columns and the blocking between survive on the west side, all 14 column bases of the south side remain *in situ* and a further section of intercolumniation blocking is visible in the south-east corner (Fig. 86). Again in a manner similarly found at Diocaesarea, the flanks of the columns were chamfered to improve the bonding of the blocking material, but only to about halfway up the shaft. In addition, the surviving column bears sockets in its flanks, which probably acted as the settings for stone tie-beams like those also found at Diocaesarea (Fig. 90). The notion that this temple-church is a direct parallel of the Diocaesarea example is therefore based on the assumption that the rest of the peripteros was incorporated into the church, which is likely given that most column bases survive *in situ*, but it is not proven, since only 6 of the 40 original columns survive above base height.[56] The appearance of the resulting basilica could however have been very different from the converted temple at Diocaesarea (cf. Figs 84, 93), as I will demonstrate in more detail in the conclusion to this chapter.

A short return on the inside of the surviving west wall indicates that the body of the church was divided into nave and aisles (Fig. 87). The two central columns of the west side were replaced with slender shafts to create a tribelon entrance to the nave, of a style preserved most famously in the entrance to the narthex of Church 1 at Kanytelis.[57] Built against this on the outside was a timber-floored structure raised to the height of the podium by means of arched substructures. The sockets half way up the surviving western column show that this structure was either a narthex or a porch. The column preserves a single cornice block from the church modification on top of its capital showing the height of the roofline at this point. It also bears the scars left by the connection of supports for a gallery level within the aisles of the basilica.

The eastern apse and side chambers no longer survive, but were visible in the 19th century, when engravings were made by de Laborde (Fig. 91) and Langlois (Fig. 92).[58] There is much

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[56] It is entirely possible, as Hellenkemper suggests, that the removal or collapse of the long flanks occurred as a result of the construction of a reduced church sometime probably after the 6th century, which incorporated the existing apse and is associated with burials in the nave (Hellenkemper 1995, 194).

[57] Hill 1996, pl. 82.

[58] This principal evidence for the shape of the apse is de Laborde's engraving, but it is curiously skewed and awkward-looking. Hellenkemper attempts to resolve this problem (1995, 194).

disagreement and confusion in the secondary sources over the position of the apse. Hill argues that it was constructed on the inside (west) of the peripteros but he based this on a mis-reading of Langlois' illustration, which clearly shows the interior of the apse, not the exterior as Hill suggests.[59]

The confusion for the researcher is heightened with Hellenkemper's explanation of the apse arrangement. In contrast to Hill, he argues that it was constructed over the remains of the staircase, i.e. beyond the east flank of the peripteros. A comparison between de Laborde's engraving and the surviving evidence demonstrates that this is highly unlikely, particularly since the plinth blocks of the eastern peripteros survive *in situ* and could not reasonably have been incorporated along the chord of the apse as Hellenkemper implies in his plan.[60] It is therefore very difficult to follow either of the two most recent statements on the structure. Even using all the available evidence it is difficult to see either where Hill's eastern passage is, or indeed Hellenkemper's staircase. De Laborde's engraving is the only one of the two that shows the exterior of the apse and it is on this engraving, plus the surviving evidence, that I have based my own hypothesis of the plan (Fig. 88). It seems clear from the plan and the engraving that up to six of the eight columns from the east side were removed for the construction of the apse. On close inspection of de Laborde's engraving it would also seem that the apse butted against the edge of the podium, or at least against the peripteros plinth. The form of apse I have deduced from de Laborde's engraving is admittedly unusual. The lower portion of the apse seems to have comprised a polygonal socle, upon which sat a more acutely angled upper portion with arched double-windows on either side of a central pillar. Although this form is unusual in Cilicia, the structural concept of the apse socle is widely found, particularly in eastern Cilicia.[61]

A narrow staircase leads up to the podium on the east side (Fig. 94), which is perhaps explained as a rear entrance to the north side chamber, although a later medieval date cannot be ruled out. The coarse nature of its construction, including *spolia* blocks in the core, would

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[59] Hill suggests that the column in the foreground lies outside the apse and that the observer is effectively looking at an eastern passage between the apse and the peripteros (1996, 240-1). The visible curve of the apse on Langlois' engraving does indeed appear to represent the exterior, yet the column which stands in the foreground is clearly that which survives today at the west end of the church, meaning that we must be looking eastwards at the interior of the apse. It is quite clear that the confusion lies in the degree of either imagination or artistic license being employed by Langlois and we should therefore be careful not to rely too heavily on this engraving as a historical record.

[60] To compound matters, Hellenkemper has given incorrect captions to the engravings (1995, figs 1 & 2).

[61] For examples churches at Ferhatlı and Akören (Bayliss 1997).

suggest that it was not the remains of the temple staircase. Arched substructures like those supporting the narthex were also found on the north and south sides of the church. Most likely they indicate the presence of flanking porticoes, which (like the shape of the apse) were a Syrian or eastern Cilician tradition more than a western Cilician or Isaurian one.

The transformation of the Temple of Zeus into the Church of St Paul is one of the few examples of a temple conversion actually mentioned in a historical source, although as usual the details of the conversion are not specified. The mid-5th century date usually given for the conversion is based on the historically attested involvement of the Archbishop Dexianos in an event, which according to the composition order of the *Miracles of St Thecla* took place before the conversion of the Temple of Zeus. This potentially provides a *terminus post quem* for the conversion of the temple of 431, when presumably the same Dexianos represented the city at Ephesus. In actuality it merely provides a *terminus post quem* for the writing of the *Life*, since we could not reasonably treat any hagiographical composition as a true reflection of a chronological sequence.[62] We would not however expect the conversion to have occurred any earlier than the mid-5th century, since the polygonal shape of the apse and in particular its large, arched windows draws parallels in eastern Cilicia from the late 5th and 6th centuries.[63] It is therefore highly unlikely that this was the "very beautiful church" visited by Egeria in 385 and situated 1500 paces from the shrine of Thecla, unless as I have suggested for other places, the temple was used as a church before the main structural conversion.

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[62] See Cormack 1985 (pp. 19-20).

[63] Bayliss 1997.

ELAIUSSA-SEBASTE (AYAŞ)[64]

Sebaste is more famous for its extensive cemetery that includes several impressive temple-tombs, than its urban monuments, which have been somewhat consumed by the modern village. However this coastal city, lying four kilometres east of Corycos was an important port and metropolis in the Roman period, although it appears to have been eclipsed by its neighbour Corycos from the late 3rd century.[65]

The topography of the city played a significant role in its urban development (Figs 95, 96). The monumental paraphernalia of urban life developed on the steep slopes overlooking the bay and the island now connected by sandy dunes to the mainland. The high ridge surrounding the bay formed the limits of the settlement and here the cemetery began. A programme of fieldwork has recently been initiated by La Sapienza University, which has so far focussed on the excavation of the theatre, late Roman structures in the urban centre including an unusual church, and the conservation of mosaics in a church on the island.[66] In addition to the temple-church discussed here, the fragmentary remains of a further three churches have been identified.[67]

The Temple-Church

The temple in the necropolis survives as a result of one of the more unusual and complicated conversion scenarios and is significant for a number of reasons (Figs 97, 98). First of all the temple is outside the city, but it is suburban, not rural. It is situated on an elevated headland overlooking the city and harbour, amongst the tombs of the ancient city's expansive cemetery. Secondly the physical relationship between the temple and the church is rather unusual; the church is much smaller than the temple podium and is situated laterally across it, a situation for which I know of no parallels (Fig. 99).

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[64] Keil and Wilhelm 1931, 220-228, fig. 176, pl. 56; Deichmann 1939, 129 no. 59; Gough, M. R. E. 1954; Hild, Hellenkemper et al. 1984, 205; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 401; Hill 1996, 96-99; Equini Schneider 1999b. Years of visit: 1993, 1998.

[65] Kirsten 1973.

[66] Equini Schneider 1997, 1999a, b.

[67] Two more churches are situated at the east end of the bay in the vicinity of Yemişkum (Hellenkemper and Hild 1986, 69-73, 123-7).

The Remains of the Temple[68]

The temple was peripteral with an unusual Composite-Corinthian order comprising 12 by 6 fluted columns of which only five now survive above the height of their bases. The longitudinal axis of the temple runs from north-west to south-east, but to avoid confusion, my discussion will assume a north-south orientation, with the chapel apse therefore pointing east. The temple was built on ground sloping from north to south and for this reason was raised on a podium measuring 32.9 by 17.6 metres (Fig. 98). The main approach was from the north and we can assume that on this side, where the podium was only slightly above ground level, a staircase could be found.

Towards the north end of the temple Gough found an opening in the podium to a passageway leading to a chamber beneath. This kind of subterranean chamber was not uncommon in temples erected on podia and can be found for example at Aezani and at Khirbet ed-Dharih.[69] In the latter instance it is almost certain that the chamber was used as a crypt in Christian times, but the original function of these chambers in the temples is less clear. Given that the proximity of the dead was not considered favourable for a temple site they were perhaps more likely originally used as treasuries.

It has been universally accepted that the later chapel was built from the remains of the temple cella (Fig. 100). This is perhaps most apparent in the surviving portions its west wall, which comprise a single course of large orthostats carrying a low base moulding that is not repeated on the visible sections of the north and south walls (Fig. 101). This gives the immediate impression that part of the west wall of the cella is preserved here *in situ* and in addition, that more of it survives in the short stretch that continues beyond the chapel to the north-west (Fig. 102). Keil and Wilhelm seem to confirm this in their plan, but in the text they explain (as Gough also does later) that a projection of this wall would not align with the 2nd column in the short side of the peripteros, an unyielding necessity of temple design.[70] This begs the question that if the west wall of the church was built with the lowest surviving courses of the cella, why did it need to be moved ever-so-slightly to the east?

At this juncture I will point out that the building material for the church is only *assumed* to have originated in the temple cella. It is worth remembering that there were plenty of tombs and other structures in the immediate vicinity that could equally have supplied the material

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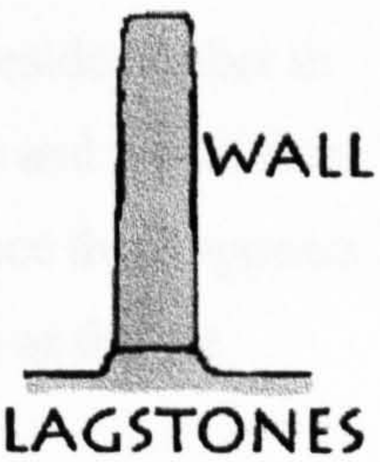
[68] Gough, M. R. E. 1954; Hill 1996, 97-98.

[69] Aezani: Naumann 1979. Khirbet ed-Dharih: Villeneuve 1986.

[70] Keil and Wilhelm 1931, 222, fig. 176.

for the chapel.[71] Moreover one would expect the wall thickness of the cella to be at least the same as the diameter of a column, but this is not the case. Gough tells us that the diameter of the columns is 1.07m at their lowest point and that the orthostats in the west wall of the chapel are only 0.7 metres wide. The fact that these orthostats taper slightly upwards would indicate that in their original position they stood alone and were not part of a thicker wall.

The clues to resolving this structure do, I believe, lie to a large degree in the surviving flagstones of the podium and their relationship with the upstanding remains. More of this has been revealed since Mary Gough made her plan and on a recent visit I was able to sketch the flagstones in the immediate vicinity of the church (Figs 99, 103). The first observation to make is that the chapel does not sit on top of the flagstones of the podium throughout. This only appears to be the case on the east side of the church corresponding with the chapel bema and the temple pteron.[72] The west wall was laid on the bedding for the podium flagstones, which where visible clearly butt against it. The communication between the south wall and the paving is more apparent and a couple of the orthostats clearly sit on top of the flagstones. However these blocks were prepared with a raised lip specifically for the purpose, as shown in the adjacent illustration, demonstrating that the orthostats were re-positioned along with their original bedding-flagstones.



Towards the east end of the south wall is a single block that bears the eroded remains of an engaged column (Fig. 104). Although in its present position it could be interpreted as the *anta* of the cella, the diameter of the half-column is much too small. An important feature of this block however is its L-shaped vertical section, with a short horizontal stump making it an integral part of the paving itself, like the blocks mentioned above but as a single unit. However since we cannot reconcile it with the temple in any way, we cannot rule out the possibility that it originated elsewhere.

The flagstones of the podium are not consistent throughout (Fig. 99). The large square slabs forming the stylobate for the peripteros stand out as a clear border to the podium. Moving from south to north there follows a further five rows of square slabs, of similar size, but smaller than the border stylobate. Then there is a break in front of the chapel, after which the

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[71] Machatschek 1967.

[72] The pteron is the corridor between the cella and the exterior colonnade in a peripteral temple. Gough excavated a shallow grave in the apse of the church, the base of which was formed by the paving slabs of the podium (Gough, M. R. E. 1954, 63).

slabs only continue on the flanks and are again reduced in size. Since two of the reused blocks for the south wall of the chapel originally also communicated with paving slabs, we can deduce that the removal of the cella may also have necessitated the removal of the flagstones beneath it. The surviving flagstones can therefore be seen to be those of the ptera, which had flanked the cella on its east and west sides.

The chapel was I believe built at least in part from the remains of the temple cella, but few blocks have survived and all have been repositioned. The south-eastern extent of the cella is shown very probably by the break in the paving, 7m from the south-east edge of the podium. The disruption of the paving in this region can therefore be attributed to the removal of the cella. I see no reason to doubt that the peripteros was carried around this side of the podium and would also expect there to have been an additional row of four columns situated in front of the cella.

The dedication of the temple is unknown although its importance may have resided either in its association with cemetery, or the fact that it was visible from the open sea and would have been a landmark for anyone arriving in the harbour. From numismatic evidence there appears to have been a temple to Zeus within the territory of Elaiussa at least as early as the 1st century BC, but no further clarification of this matter is possible.[73]

The Temple Conversion

In 1952-3 Gough excavated the chapel and discovered a mosaic in the apse depicting a scene he interpreted to be a visual representation of the peaceful kingdom of Isaiah.[74] The chapel measures only 11.35 x 7.3 metres and although the nave was never completely excavated, the discovery of a small column base and fragments of capitals in the fill led Gough to suppose that it had been divided into nave and aisles. Although the conversion appears at first glance to be fairly straightforward, I have already shown that the archaeology of the site is extremely complex. The plan I have produced of the structure is composed from no less than six individual earlier plans and as such allows us to demonstrate several new insights into this conversion (Fig. 99).

The small chapel, built on the podium of the temple, is perpendicular to its predecessor's main axis and therefore orientates itself to the north-east. As I have demonstrated above, its walls incorporated various different types of blocks, most of which probably originated in the

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[73] Magie 1950, 1339; Kirsten 1974, 784.

[74] Gough 1955, 59-62, fig. 5, pls V-VI; 1972, 210-2; Hild, Hellenkemper et al. 1984, 336-344, figs 66-68.

temple cella. Particularly significant is the incorporation of the peripteral temple columns into the east wall and apse, which were modified to facilitate their accommodation within the narrow masonry of the new structure (Fig. 105). The staircases from the lower ground on the east side, next to the chapel apse, must have been part of the Christian redevelopment of the temple since their construction would have required the removal of podium blocks and peripteral columns.[75]

The chapel could be entered by doorways in the north and west walls. The north door presumably had some special function associated with the area of the podium on this side of the chapel. This area appears to have been at least partially enclosed. A wall was built along the east side of the podium, but it remains unclear whether this actually replaced the peripteros columns or merely blocked the intercolumniations.[76] In order to bond the blocking walls with the columns, the fluting on the flanks of the shafts was roughly chamfered. In addition the two surviving columns on the north side have sockets for stone tie-beams, used to secure the masonry and demonstrating that the intercolumniations on this side were also blocked (Fig. 97). Exactly the same techniques of chamfering and sockets were used in the temple conversions at Seleucia and Diocaesarea. The sockets were probably also employed as the seating for door lintels and from their position it would seem that three entrances were provided from the north side, between the central and the outer intercolumniations. Although the wall itself barely survives now at any place, from the surviving columns on the north side and those that have tumbled into the bushes to the west, it can be deduced that this wall appears to have enveloped the entire northern two-thirds of the podium.

Gough suggested that the area to the north of the chapel could have been reserved for priests' quarters, but why anybody would have needed to live in the church is inexplicable.[77] Given that the primary approach to the site must have been from the north, this area might have functioned as an atrium. Indeed the narrow corridor between the church wall and the peripteros appears suitably adequate to act as a kind of narthex. Why the enclosing wall would have been required for this arrangement is difficult to explain, although only fragments of it survive so we need not assume that it was any more than a few courses high.

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[75] The techniques of column-chamfering for an apse and the insertion of additional staircases into a podium can also be seen in the late 6th century conversion of the "Temple of Concord" at Agrigento (Trizzino 1988).

[76] On this point the plans of Gough and Keil-Wilhelm disagree.

[77] Gough, M. R. E. 1954, 59.

An Intermediary Church?

The complexities of this structure led Keil and Wilhelm to suggest that an earlier church had existed on this site prior to the construction of the chapel. This notion remained unexplored in their text, although the proposition would in fact make a degree of sense from the archaeology.[78]

First of all the blocking of the intercolumniations would make much more sense as a technique for the construction of the outer wall of a south-east facing basilica, with local comparisons drawn from the conversions at Diocaesarea and Seleucia. For the construction of a basilica that occupied the majority of the podium, the cella would probably have been removed in its entirety and perhaps re-employed in the outer walls. This would explain how masonry from the cella appears to have survived, but none of it *in situ*. In addition the three doorways through the northern peripteros make little sense if the northern area of the podium was merely an open courtyard, but would be perfectly acceptable as openings into a basilica, one into the nave and one into each aisle.

This would also provide an explanation for the position of the west wall of the chapel and the short stretch of wall to the north that aligns with it. The blocks of the latter appear to be set quite low and may perhaps be the remains of the stylobate for the intermediary church. Its position would certainly make perfect sense in terms of the division of the podium space into nave and aisles. The considerable depth of these blocks would have provided the necessary support for a substantial colonnade.[79] The west wall of the chapel is therefore perhaps respecting the alignment of a stylobate, which survives in a short section to the north. A more detailed plan, particularly with levels, would be required to shed more light on this.

Finally this interpretation might explain an anomaly on Keil and Wilhelm's plan, which was not observed by Gough and is indeed no longer visible.[80] A lateral wall with a single opening is marked as part of the "cella" indicated on their plan (Fig. 99). Although they disputed the notion that any of the cella remained in situ, their projection lines connecting this wall with the west wall of the chapel and the engaged column in the south wall of the chapel, appears to

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[78] Keil and Wilhelm 1931, fig. 176. Hellenkemper also alludes to this possibility more recently, although he implies that a larger building may have been planned, but that the plans were changed before its completion (Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 401).

[79] The two blocks observed by Gough running in a line to the north-east from this foundation no longer survive, but were clearly less substantial and probably associated with modifications of this area for the construction of the chapel.

[80] Keil and Wilhelm 1931, fig. 176.

be in contradiction with this stance. In the re-interpretation I have presented here however, this wall makes better sense as the interior wall of a narthex, for which only the central doorway had survived, particularly because no evidence survived for the north-south walls they indicate.

The interpretation of the archaeology that I have presented here makes sense of an otherwise extremely confusing site. For the construction of this basilica the cella and some of the flagstones were removed and the intercolumniations walled up, following a tradition of temple conversion already observed at Diocaesarea and Seleucia. The key issue with this interpretation concerns the relative chronology of this hypothetical basilica and the subsequent chapel.

Dating

The dating of this conversion is problematic and unclear and even more so if one suspects the existence of an earlier church, which cannot have been very long-lived. The mosaic found in the apse of the chapel conformed to a theme and style which Gough found in various churches in Cilicia and to which he ascribed an Antiochene origin in the late 5th or early 6th century.[81] Yet despite these possible stylistic parallels Gough's argument essentially rests on an historical assumption. It is argued that the frequently appearing *paradeisos* mosaics in 5th century Cilician churches is a direct reflection of an imperial directive of peace, proposed through the *Henotikon* text issued by Zeno (see above, p. 141).[82]

As Hill has pointed out the mosaic only provides us with a very approximate *terminus ante quem* for the church, as the mosaic could have been inserted later.[83] However Hill agrees with Gough that the conversion occurred almost immediately following the abandonment of the temple, on the basis of the "position of the church, inside the temple". Gough implies that the apparent reasonable preservation of the temple at the time of the conversion demonstrates that the period of abandonment between the two must have been short. I have already shown (Chapter 4) the problems inherent in this kind of chronological guesswork based on the state of extant remains. In this case the argument is even more untenable since this temple was extra-mural and was therefore perhaps not so accessible for the purposes of material appropriation.

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[81] Gough, M. R. E. 1954, 64.

[82] Quoted in Maas 2000 (pp. 132-3). The connection is tenuous, since the *Henotikon* makes no mention of the Kingdom of Isiah, the key to Gough's argument.

[83] Hill 1996, 98.

Gough proposed that this was one of the earliest temple conversions in Cilicia, a label that has fossilised and given the site more fame than it deserves on this basis. If an earlier church existed we would expect the initial temple conversion to have occurred at around the same time as the similar conversion at Seleucia, perhaps in the late 5th century. I am not in a position to dispute Gough's dating of the mosaic in the chapel apse, so the date for the chapel remains at around the same time. This creates a chronology that many will undoubtedly find a little too tight, but there is a substantial degree of flexibility in both these date ranges and although we usually like structural phases to last at least a century, a lot can happen in 20 years.

There is another major implication of this interpretation. The construction of small chapels within larger basilicas in usually seen as a characteristic of the 7th century onwards and as a direct result of the devastation and demographic catastrophes resulting from the Persian and Arab invasions.[84] It is more usual to find however that the later church reuses the apse of its predecessor. The necessities of approximating an easterly orientation may have played a role in the re-orientation however, as could the condition of the original apse at that time. It is over-simplistic to interpret this conversion as symptomatic of population decline, although an economic downturn at Sebaste in the late 5th century may explain the reconstruction of the first church on the site to more limited means.

Function and Meaning

Gough suggested that a population decline in the city during late antiquity, probably caused by the silting up of the harbour we now see as complete, meant that a larger church built around the peripteros would have been impractical for the requirements of the diminished congregation.[85] Not only is it highly problematic to correlate the size or quantity of churches with demography, but also we should remember that this was almost certainly not a parochial establishment, since it lay within the city's necropolis. Although this was not a central urban position, it did however command a fine view over the city and harbour. It would surely have been the most dominant landmark visible from the sea; when Cockerell arrived here by ship in the late 18th century he described the location of the temple as a "striking eminence".[86] Its

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[84] The practice cannot however be tied to the "conquest" period and examples of small chapels built within the remains of larger basilicas are known in the 12th century (Bayliss 1997) and even as late as the 19th century (Held 1999, 191-6).

[85] Gough, M. R. E. 1954, 57-8; Hill 1996, 252-3.

[86] Cockerell and Cockerell 1999, 189.

highly visible situation may have been important, but in terms of its actual functionality as a church, it was clearly fulfilling a specific role in the cemetery of the city.

THE CORYCIAN CAVE[87]

In the rugged limestone hills 5km inland from Corycos lies the Corycian Cave. This site certainly lives up to its Turkish name – *Cennet ve Cehennem* – meaning Heaven and Hell, since it is without doubt one of the most atmospheric and visually stunning places along Anatolia's southern shore. Yet it owes this status to its natural setting rather than its archaeological remains (Fig. 106). Two great depressions formed by the erosive action of an underground river appear suddenly on the visitor from "a perfect sea of pointed calcareous rocks".[88] The northernmost cavern, "Hell", is the smaller of the two, but is bell-shaped making it virtually inaccessible (Figs 108, 109). To the south, "Heaven" is some 250m long and on average about 30m wide, with sheer cliffs on all sides except the south-east, where access can be made by virtue of a tortuous staircase. The ground in the base of this depression slopes at approximately 15°, from a depth of about 30m in the north to around 70m at the southern extreme where a huge cavern extends deeper still from an opening in the cliff face. A further 60m or so and the cavern terminates at a rock face, where the distant rushing of the underground river, known in antiquity as 'Aὺoj, can be heard.[89]

The description of the cave given in the 1st century AD by Pomponius Mela shows that fearfulness was also a quality of sacredness in a place:

> Inside it there is a space which inspires such terror that nobody dares to advance further; so it has remained unexplored. The whole cave is venerable and truly sacred; it is worthy to be a habitation of the gods, as it is, indeed, generally held to be. There is nothing there that is not venerable, that does not in some manner manifest divine presence (*Chorogr.*, I. 13, quoted in Markus 1991, 139).[90]

The site has clearly been party to an extremely long history of ritual activity. According to Homeric mythology and subsequent interpretations the monster Typhon was imprisoned here after almost successfully causing the downfall of the gods. There was a temple on the southern edge of the depression from at least the middle of the 1st century BC, probably

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[87] Keil and Wilhelm 1931, 214-219; Dagron and Feissel 1987, 44-6

[88] Bent 1890a, 447.

[89] Hicks 1891, Inscr. 24.

[90] For other examples of "sacred" caves inspiring trepidation see Taylor 1993, pp. 158-169.

longer. This rural site was presumably the focus of pagan pilgrimage and Bent suggests that it was the kind of setting that would have attracted an oracle, although there is no supporting evidence for this.[91] A small settlement of ten or so houses extends to the south and south-east of the depression. These are rectangular in plan, were most probably two-storied and appear to be late Roman in date.[92] Crosses on the lintels of several houses demonstrate that at some time this accommodated a Christian community.[93] A Christian basilica replaced the temple in late antiquity, built partially from the remains of its predecessor.

Within the cavern, at the opening to the lower cave, is a small but elegant church, which appears to be constructed on the platform of an earlier unidentifiable structure. Traces of frescoes in the semi-dome of the apse have been dated to the 12th century.[94] By the mid-19th century the church was in use as a mosque and the depression itself was used by nomads to tether their camels and protect their flocks.[95] Finally, Bent reported seeing yet another temple on a hilltop just to the west of the site, although there is a good deal of confusion concerning whether the stone alignment he observed was indeed a temple and certainly not enough of it survived to deduce its late antique fate.[96]

The Clifftop Temple[97]

In 1967 Otto Feld and Hans Weber (hereafter F&W) published an exemplary survey report on this converted temple.[98] Through their meticulous and relatively non-intrusive investigation of the structure in all its visible phases they successfully managed to dispute several pivotal yet misconceived interpretations of the site. My discussion will illustrate and expand on many of

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[91] Bent 1891, 213.

[92] Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 314.

[93] Feld 1967, 278.

[94] Eyice 1971, 330-2.

[95] Bent 1891, 214.

[96] Bent 1890a, 448; 1891, 216; Hicks 1891, prob. no.s 26 & 30; MacKay 1968, 22; Dagron and Feissel 1987, 44-6, no. 16.

[97] Bent 1891, 212-6, pl. & fig.; Hicks 1891, 239-258, no.s 27-8; Bell 1906b, 29-30; Keil and Wilhelm 1931, 216-7; Deichmann 1939, no. 63; Feld 1963/4, 102; Feld 1967, 254-78, figs 1-5, pls 36-38; MacKay 1968, 22; Deichmann 1975, 33-4; Hild, Hellenkemper et al. 1984, 222-6, figs 16-18; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 314-5; Hill 1996, 111-113, fig. 15, pls 28-30.

[98] Feld 1967

their observations in detail, since subsequent important and influential publications on the structure seem to have overlooked their findings.[99]

Of the Hellenistic temple that overlooked the southern depression only the temenos wall appears to survive *in situ*, since it was later reused to serve as a precinct wall for the church (Figs 107, 110). It comprises well-executed and tight-fitting polygonal masonry and like all other structures on the site, is constructed with limestone extracted from quarries less than a mile away.[100] The church is built from the remains of the temple, but with the addition of a substantial amount of new material. The north and west wall of the basilica, the interior face of the apse and connecting cross-walls are built from smooth quadratic masonry. The striking north wall survives for some 30m to a height of about 7m, although the west wall with its three openings into the church has suffered earthquake damage (Fig. 111).

On the south side the temenos wall provided the footings for the south wall of the church, which has now virtually disappeared. On the east side an additional wall was built enclosing the apse. This has almost disappeared although the apse itself survives to the height of its semi-dome (Fig. 112). The south wall, east wall, exterior of the apse, upper section of the north wall and repair to the temenos wall were executed in smaller mortared *Kleinquaderwerk*, which is so characteristic of early Byzantine construction in this region (Fig. 113).[101]

The three predominant building techniques can be seen together in the south-west corner of the church, where the polygonal masonry of temenos wall runs beneath the smooth quadratic masonry of the church, as it turns to form the south wall of the church and changes to *Kleinquaderwerk* construction (Fig. 114).

The Temenos Wall

The temple overlooking the Corycian cave was built within a temenos, which in part followed the southern edge of the great depression (Figs 108, 110). It was more or less rectangular in shape, except for the north-west corner which cuts in to follow the cliff edge. The south-west quadrant is well preserved, but the north and east sides have suffered much, primarily from the modern road passing through the northern portion of the precinct. Entrances through the

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[99] Hill (1996) cites F&W extensively but still adheres on the whole to the erroneous interpretations of Bent and Keil-Wilhelm.

[100] Feld 1967, 270.

[101] Bell 1906b, 30, fig. 22.

west and north walls have been recorded, although the latter is now lost. In the north-west corner a portion of the wall survives along the very cliff edge which shows polygonal masonry in its lower courses with a substantial later repair of *Kleinquaderwerk*, similar to the Byzantine period masonry in the church but considerably more coarse (Fig. 115). More of this wall is visible from the north as it extends deep into the depression where a large archway can be seen, now completely filled with rubble (Fig. 116). The ground to the south of the wall has clearly been built up since antiquity and probably now obscures a stairway leading from the temenos down through the archway and into the depression. It would appear that this was the original route to the cavern, although the modern path now descends further to the north. Hence access to the depression could effectively be restricted and could almost certainly only have been afforded by first gaining access to the temple precinct. The control of this route effectively gave the temple wardens or priests absolute control over mysteries of the site.

Deducing The Temple

Before the detailed study of this structure by F&W in 1967, scholars had been deceived by the extremely well preserved north wall of the church, leading them to assume its reuse directly from the temple (Fig. 117).[102] First of all it was constructed as smooth quadratic masonry, with a low course of large orthostats. This was readily distinguishable from the polygonal masonry of the temenos wall and in particular, the predominant *Kleinquaderwerk*, identified as the Christian alterations. Secondly, Bent observed that the east end of the north wall terminated in what appeared to be a temple *anta*, articulated with a shallow projecting pilaster. The end blocks of this *anta* bear a long list of names, which presumably records the individuals who in some capacity were involved with the temple (Fig. 118).[103]

Bent published a crude plan produced by D. G. Hogarth that showed the north and part of the west wall as a single unit of the *in situ* temple.[104] Both however had failed to recognise the projecting pilaster on the north-west corner which mirrored the one at the east end (Fig. 111). Moreover although a break in the west wall is indicated on the plan it is impossible to see in reality where the supposed temple ended and the basilica began. Keil and Wilhelm apparently noticed the north-west pilaster but were obviously confused by it since they invented a butt-joint, thereby separating the west and north walls, claiming that the temple was *amphiprostyle*

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[102] Bent 1891, 206; Bell 1906b, 29; Keil and Wilhelm 1931, 217; Deichmann 1939, no. 63; Feld 1963/4, 102; MacKay 1968, 22; Hill 1996, 112.

[103] Bent 1890a, 448; Hicks 1891, 243-56, no. 27; Heberdy and Wilhelm 1896, 71-9.

[104] Bent 1891, 449.

i.e. with two *antae* at either end.[105] The immediate problems with this interpretation were simply glossed over and ignored.

F&W identified further problems with their predecessors' accepted interpretations of the building. On closer inspection it was found that adjacent blocks in the north and west walls varied in height and that the mismatching of joints showed that blocks were not in their original positions. In addition the interior of the wall bore no scars which should have been left by the necessary cross-walls of a temple, although suitable communication blocks can be seen randomly positioned throughout the interior of the wall (Fig. 119).

F&W were therefore able to show convincingly that the north wall was in fact completely rebuilt for the church and that it was integral with the west wall as far as the south-west corner. The deception lay in the fact that the blocks themselves originated from the temple and that certain architectural principles, such as the pilasters and a low course of orthostat blocks appear to have been translated to the new wall. It became clear that the temple had been entirely dismantled prior to the construction of the church and that the surviving masonry therefore comprised disparate fragments rather than any coherent component of the temple. For example a block from the south-east *anta* bearing the name from a list similar to the one on the surviving *anta*, can be seen relocated in the west wall of the church.[106]

F&W's use of a few scattered fragments to deduce the original temple form is highly compelling. From their careful observations of these elements, they were able to deduce that the temple walls were over two metres higher than the existing line between the quadratic masonry and the *Kleinquaderwerk*: some 7.15 m to the top of the architrave. Only two fragmentary columns and a few short sections of architrave have been found on the site, so the temple seems not to have been equipped with a peripteros. The fragments of the temple that do survive however suggest that its form was a simple Doric cella in *antis*, although the existence of a pronaos cannot be ruled out.[107] For a temple of these proportions, the length of the side wall would normally fall in the region of 12-16 m, which is approximately half the length of the basilica wall. This would therefore appear to have been quite a small temple within a large precinct and in terms of the *aedes* probably resembled the better-preserved but similarly proportioned Doric temple (12x8m) of Kakasbos at Sagalassos.[108]

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[105] Keil and Wilhelm 1931, 217, fig. 167.

[106] Feld 1967, 257-258.

[107] Feld 1967, 263-5; Deichmann 1975, 34.

[108] Waelkens 1993a, 9-12.

Another perpetuating misconception was the dedication of this temple. Its attribution to Corycian Zeus was based on contradictory errors in publications by Bent and Hicks and even though direct evidence is wanting, several scholars now agree that a dedication to Hermes, the principal deity of Corycos, might be more appropriate for the this temple.[109] Heberdy and Wilhelm assigned the construction of the temple to the middle of the 1st century BC, based on the lettering and supposed historically identifiable persons in the *anta* list. F&W on the other hand drew parallels from Greek examples to suggest a range for the pilaster capitals of 175-163 BC, which agrees with the slender proportions they observed for the columns.[110]

The Temple Conversion

The basilica was divided by colonnades into three aisles with a door opening into each from the west wall. The vertical *Kleinquaderwerk* extension to the north wall allowed for the provision of galleries, which are also evidenced on the interior by a row of beam sockets below the highest course of temple ashlar (Fig. 119). The second storey continued within the eastern passage behind the apse, but the sockets stop short of the west wall of the basilica, at a point where the narthex interior wall butted against the north wall. There is good evidence for a transept in front of the chancel, the extent of which has been discovered, complete with settings for a substantial screen.[111]

There is a simple central doorway in the north wall, which Hans Weber has shown to be an original component in the reconstructed wall.[112] Flanking doorways were not essential in the vernacular architecture of the period, but are reasonably found where basilicas have associated courtyards, for example at Diocaesarea, or are built alongside a street as at Castabala. The north wall of the church was virtually windowless, with the exception of one or two openings at gallery level within the *Kleinquaderwerk* (Fig. 119). Although an absence of windows on the north side of a church is evidenced elsewhere in Cilicia, for example at Canbazlı and Church 4 at Kanlıdivane, it is still perhaps a direct reflection of the temple wall.[113] The provision of windows required the masonry to be redressed, something that seems to have been all but avoided with the temple blocks, as will also be shown with regard to the Chapel of St Mary in the cavern. The obvious minimalist approach to illumination in

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[109] Kirsten 1974; Dagron and Feissel 1987, 46, nts 10-12.

[110] Heberdy and Wilhelm 1896, 72; Feld 1967, 263.

[111] Feld 1967, 271-6; Hill 1996, 112-3.

[112] Feld 1967, 258

[113] Eyice suggested that the reasoning for this was the torrential northerly rains experienced in this region (1988, 20).

this basilica would have resulted in a somewhat gloomy interior, which is perhaps in keeping with the mystique of the site in general.[114]

The interior face of the apse and connecting cross-walls were constructed with quadratic masonry, but the blocks are smaller and less finely dressed than those in the north or west walls (Fig. 112). Much of this material appears to be reused, in particular the interior cornice moulding on the apse. The wall that encloses the apse to form the eastern passage was constructed with *Kleinquaderwerk*, which was presumably bonded with the quadratic masonry cross-wall running northwards from the apse. Neither of these walls were however bonded in any way with the eastern termination of the north wall, although the *Kleinquaderwerk* in the upper courses could have fulfilled this role. It is worth remembering that although the quadratic masonry predominates in the surviving walls, a larger portion of the basilica was built with *Kleinquaderwerk*, which effectively encased the reused material. In this sense Weber is correct in his claim that the creation of the butt-joint saved the job of tying-in these three intersecting walls, which would have involved making unsightly modifications to the reconstituted *anta*.[115]

The fact remains that the basilica as a whole extended some 8 m beyond the east end of the quadratic masonry *anta* and in a much coarser technique, a curiosity which requires explanation. Both masonry types were almost certainly part of the original design, since the bond between the two is seen in the south-west corner (Fig. 114). Why then was the whole of the north wall not constructed using the quadratic masonry of the temple? A more common arrangement of narthex/nave/eastern passage in Cilicia is for the latter to be part of the main unit and the narthex to be separate, often built after the main body of the church.[116] Here the situation is reversed, presumably in some way reflecting either the sequence of construction or some unidentifiable influence from the pre-existing structure.

A couple of subjective observations could help to clarify this matter. First of all, we must acknowledge that a decision was made, for whatever reason, to include the temple material within the church and the most efficient way of doing so was to actually restore the original

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[114] The apse of the basilica also had no windows. Mâle offered the suggestion that the windowless apses of Constantine's St Peter's, S. Vitale and S. Giovanni e Paolo in Rome lent an air of mystery to the rituals taking place in the apse (Mâle 1960, 54).

[115] Feld 1967, 261.

[116] Bayliss 1997.

temple courses in order to accommodate variations in block height.[117] Assuming that efficient and aesthetic accommodation was a pre-requisite of the architect we can understand that it made some sense to reuse the articulated pilaster blocks in their original relative locations, rather than scattered throughout an otherwise smooth quadratic masonry facade. So half of the temple was effectively re-erected, yet with its longitudinal axis stretched by the addition of blocks from its south wall. These decisions undoubtedly had an effect on the final appearance of the church.

One way of understanding the sequential construction of this basilica is to assume, as F&W seem to have done, that construction in the temple masonry progressed from the north-east *anta* in an anticlockwise direction. There are indications that work began on the quadratic masonry wall at its eastern end, since the orthostat course is found along the whole north side but only a section of the west, perhaps as the source became exhausted (Fig. 111). In the middle of the west facade the orthostat blocks ran out and by the time the builders reached the south-west corner the quadratic masonry stocks from the temple were exhausted, the last few blocks to be included being the remains of the Doric architrave. It is therefore apparent that the height of the quadratic masonry courses was sacrificed for the overall length of the wall and presumably judged so that the available stone would last until at least the south-west corner. It may be that, like the addition of a narthex in other churches, the eastern passage unit was therefore built after the main body of the church, although as part of the original design.

I am slightly concerned that this notion may be oversimplifying a complex process, in particular because I believe that some of the temple material was used to build the lower church in the cavern (see below, p. 177), which implies against the starvation of material sources. An alternative is to propose that the temple had some inexplicable effect on the construction of its successor. There is evidence for compromise in the overall proportions of the church, which for a transept-basilica is certainly somewhat squat, particularly when the narthex is taken into consideration. The dimensions of this church at 34m x 22m are startling in comparison with those of the Cathedral in Corycos at 50m x 22m, which also possessed a narthex, transept and eastern passage.

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[117] The fact that this was only done to a degree of success suggests that the temple had already for the most part collapsed, an observation perhaps verified by the temple material that also appears to have been reused for the church in the cavern.

Some of the irregularities outlined above could indicate that the position of the *aedes*, particularly its foundations, did have some impact on the subsequent Christian building activities.[118] As the temple appears to have been significantly smaller than the later church, it was however clear that the temenos wall had the most significant impact on the positioning of the church, since it could be used as the entire foundation of the south wall. Therefore overall consideration of the south temenos wall, the foundations of the cella and the quantity of available material might explain the irregular ground plan of the church.

With the exception of the temenos wall F&W have clarified that all standing features on this site are contemporary and are associated with the construction of the church. The surviving temple masonry was however used predominantly for only the north and the west walls of the basilica. This would mean that the finest available masonry was used in the church walls that were most visible from within the temenos.[119] Careful consideration was clearly given to the aesthetics and practicalities of incorporating the temple remains within these walls, for example with the inclusion of the orthostat course. In addition, the architrave blocks are hidden out of sight in the south wall. The Doric pilaster capital from one of the *anta* found a functional setting as console at the east end of the north aisle, even though it could have been reused in its original position on the *anta* at the end of the north wall. The corner blocks and the *anta* were reused presumably because they comprised blocks that were already dressed for these purposes, however all the material between is more diverse, reflecting its origins in different parts of the temple. Finally, inscribed blocks from the *anta* that had been damaged during the dismantling of the temple were positioned upside-down, not because the workmen were "ignorant" as proposed by Bent, but so that the scarred faces would be obscured beneath the interior plaster.[120]

From the surviving reused material it can be suggested that much of the masonry that had once comprised this temple was still available on the site, whether as a standing temple or a pile of rubble. The north wall at least was either mostly intact or possible to salvage from the remains of the temple.[121] This kind of evidence has in the past been used to suggest that a conversion followed fairly soon after the abandonment of a temple.[122] In reality it would only

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[118] F&W suggested that the remains of a south stylobate, unearthed by Keil and Wilhelm could be temple foundations reused *in situ* (1967, 266).

[119] This "hierarchical" use of *spolia* was also observed by La Rocca in the churches of Bargylia (La Rocca 1999).

[120] Bent 1891, 214; Feld 1967, 257.

[121] Perhaps in a similar way to the present condition of the Church of the Apostles at Anazarbus (see below).

[122] Gough, M. R. E. 1954.

take an efficient team a couple of days to dismantle such a small temple if the materials were needed elsewhere or on the other hand a temple could survive virtually intact for many years. Keil and Wilhelm's suggestion of a 4th or at the latest 5th century date is given without explanation.[123] Hill appears inclined to agree with their estimation but based on structural similarities with the temple conversion at Elaiussa-Sebaste, which was itself dated by Gough's aforementioned erroneous supposition. Otto Feld's proposal of the late 5th century seems more realistic and is based on the decoration of a surviving pier capital from the apse.[124]

This temple conversion provides valuable insights into the logistics and complexities of masonry reuse in the conversion of temples into churches. It seems reasonable to suppose that there had not been sufficient material surviving from the temple to construct the whole church from quadratic masonry. Thus compromises were made and the selectivity is intriguing. The walls that were most visible from within the precinct were built with the blocks of the temple up to the height of the galleries. In contrast the south wall, which faces the village, was much coarser. The communication between the temenos wall and the church wall is clumsy, and the few quadratic blocks on this side are predominantly undressed. Deichmann assumed that these arrangements were purely aesthetic.[125] He may well be right and this observation verifies the assumption that re-used quadratic masonry was widely considered to be more visually appealing than the new "vogue" of the period, *Kleinquaderwerk.*

Aesthetics appears to have been a concern in the reconstruction but other factors were clearly at play. Although compromises were only made to a degree I have suggested that the temple perhaps had more impact on the church form than has been appreciated and many of the details of this conversion will only be revealed through an investigation of its foundations.

Given both the geographic and topographic location of this temple conversion it seems most likely that in addition to an obvious parochial role, it functioned at least to some degree as a pilgrimage centre, although beyond the attraction of the cave it is not known why visitors would have come. The presence of the eastern passage might suggest some funerary or martyrial role by association with similar sites, but this is not supported with any other evidence, either historical or archaeological. Nor is there any evidence that the vicinity of the church became a focus for Christian burial at any time.

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[123] Keil and Wilhelm 1931, 217.

[124] Hill 1996, 113; Feld 1967, 277, fig. 4; Hild, Hellenkemper et al. 1984, 225.

[125] Deichmann 1975, 34.

Chapel of St Mary[126]

No early travellers reported having entered the northern cavern and despite the fact that local tradition describes a linking passageway to the south, it appears to contain no archaeological remains.[127] The focus of activity in antiquity was the greater and more accessible southern depression, entered via the staircase from the temple and church precinct.

Deep within the southern depression and partially obstructing the opening to the lower cavern lies a small and unusual church (Figs 120-2). The eastern portion of the church occupies a rocky outcrop (Fig. 123). Butting against this and providing an extended platform for the rest of the church are the fragmentary remains of a coarse polygonal masonry wall (Fig. 124). Hill agrees with Bent's suggestion that here survive the remains of a wall that had once blocked the mouth of the cavern.[128] He goes on to state that the church was built from the remains of this wall, which is more difficult to confirm, since the church is built from large quadratic blocks and orthostats, not redressed polygonal masonry. The presence of the quadratic masonry in the church would rather indicate the pre-existence of another structure in the vicinity, or that the masonry was acquired from the Clifftop Temple. My observations have led me to believe that the latter is the most likely case, although measurements would need to be taken of block sizes before it could be confirmed either way.

The south-west corner of the church is most revealing. Here a row of large orthostats comprises its lowest course, above which in the west wall is a course of quadratic headers and stretchers (Fig. 124). These techniques are very familiar and immediately recall the techniques of reuse in the north wall of the temple-church above, although headers were not used throughout. It is also clear that similar blocks were used to support and consolidate the south-west corner of the church platform and are readily distinguishable at this point from the polygonal wall.

This is not sufficient proof however that the material for the church came from the clifftop. In fact there is hitherto unnoticed evidence to suggest that the rock outcrop held some kind of monument or structure prior to the construction of the church. The surface of the rock has

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[126] Hicks 1891, 240-2, No.s 24-5; Bell 1906b, 30-31, figs 23-25; Keil and Wilhelm 1931, 217-9, fig. 171; Feld 1963/4, 102-3; Hill 1996, 113-5, fig. 16, pls 31-2; Eyice 1971, 330-331, fig. 4.

[127] Bent 1890a, 448. Keil and Wilhelm do not comment on the walls in the northern cavern that appear on their plan (1931, fig. 162).

[128] Hill 1996, 113. Bent cites parallels from the blocking of a cave temple dedicated to Hermes in the vicinity of Çatı Ören (1891, 213).

been worked flat, but projecting from beneath the south and east walls of the church are the remains of a low and rectangular two-stepped platform cut from the surface of rock, which serves no purpose for the church construction and is therefore quite clearly of an earlier date (Figs 122, 125). It is very possible that this feature formed the lowest course of a small structure or monument, or perhaps a base for some great statue. Its east and south sides are visible from outside the church, as is the return to the north (visible in Fig. 124), which occurs on a line with the mullion between the two easternmost windows on the south side. The uppermost step forms the lowest course of the church walls on this side but has been removed inside the church. The lower step however has been reused in the paving of the chapel and can clearly be seen as a distinct L-shape (Figs 120, 126).[129]

The structure therefore appears to have been rectangular in plan with an east-west orientation and I have estimated its dimensions at 8 x 4.5m. This could therefore have been the foundation for a very small temple, more like a shrine or perhaps just an altar.[130] Nevertheless, to return to a previous question, unless this was a particularly tall structure it is unlikely that it would have been able to provide all the material for the church.

No previous scholars appear to have noticed this platform even though several produced plans of the church.[131] Its presence however does explain the disarticulation of the church, which clearly sought to accommodate both the platform and the polygonal masonry wall as its footings. The acute angle of the south wall of the side chamber demonstrates that the partial collapse of the rock platform must have occurred before the construction of the church, which respected the new edge. The mutation of form for the purposes of accommodation that we observe here is typical of the "*spolia* tradition". Another example from this church can be found in the west facade where the single doorway can be seen to be off-centre, surely the result of the uneven lengths of the massive quadratic blocks used to build this wall (Fig. 124).

Although it is not possible to reconstruct the original monument that occupied the platform, other evidence does allow us to gain an impression of its context. The interior of the

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[129] A photograph of the interior of the church taken by Gertrude Bell shows a low roughly constructed north-south cross-wall, which contained reused collapsed elements of the church. This was almost certainly part of the Moslem modifications to the church and cannot be associated with the feature seen in the pavement as it lies slightly to the west (Bell Archive 1905, D-047, University of Newcastle upon Tyne).

[130] Bent (1890a) apparently assumed that the church replaced a temple, although he did not cite any corroborative evidence upon which he made this judgement.

[131] These vary greatly: Bell 1906b, fig. 23; Hill 1996, fig. 16; Hild, Hellenkemper et al. 1984, fig. 18; Eyice 1971, fig. 4.

depression appears to have been, much like today, something of a fertile oasis. In addition Bent found an inscription on the wall just inside the cave, which described the donation of two statues to be set up in the brushwood outside the cave, which would surely have given a highly evocative edge to this location.[132] One was of Pan, the other Hermes, both of whom had played pivotal roles in the mythological entrapment of the monster Typhon. Whether the statues were alone or part of a larger group is not clear.

Whatever the pre-existing monument we can perhaps draw on the fact that its location was chosen with visual impact firmly in mind. From within the cave the structure would have been staggering, as the impression remains for the church (Fig. 123). Approaching through the dense vegetation from the north, the church does not come into view until you are almost upon it. However the effect of its positioning is such that from within the deep cavern, its silhouette is highly visible against the gaping maw of the vast cavern opening, the sole source of light.

The dating of this church is extremely controversial. Hicks proposed the 4th century on the basis of the dedicatory inscription above the doorway, although he did not explain this assessment. Hill agreed, explaining that some architectural devices in the church could be seen as "primitive" and have moreover been observed in other presumed 4th century churches in the region. On the contrary Feld dates the church to the 6th century on the basis of the window hood-mouldings, which he suggests are not common in Cilicia until this period (Fig. 121).[133] While this is a valid argument, he does perhaps slightly miss the point that this kind of exterior decoration is a feature of the Cilician Plain, not western Cilicia and its presence here requires explanation, whatever its date. It is possible that along within aspects of the churches at Diocaesarea and Seleucia, certain elements of what we might call "Syrian design" could be found in late antique Rough Cilicia: the odd church-tower here, an elaborated facade there.

Concluding Remarks

The pre-Christian ritual activity at the Corycian cave was connected to a mythological narrative, which placed Zeus, Hermes and Pan as the major players in the battle with Typhon and his final imprisonment in the cave. The fantastical morphology of the site and other atmospheric elements, such as the rumbling underground river, gave credence to and

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[132] Hicks 1891, 240-2, no. 24. Although see re-interpretation by Heberdy (1896, 71).

[133] Hicks 1891, 242, no. 25; Hill 1996, 114; Feld 1963/4, 102-3.

perpetuated the mythology. It explains for example the construction of a wall, presumably in the Hellenistic period, to block the cave entrance.[134] As if this protection were not sufficient, statues of Typhon's captors, Pan and Hermes were also set up in the undergrowth outside the cave. Yet this act was not simply an association of these characters with the myth and the site. The statues would be expected to have the apotropaic ability to keep the spirit within at bay. Whatever stood on the podium now lying beneath the small church presumably had similar qualities and symbolism in its composition. Yet it is clear that this lower site and indeed the lower cavern were visited and experienced, hence the grand entrance from the temenos above and also a pathway of polygonal slabs, observed by Bent descending into the lower reaches beyond the rocky outcrop.[135]

This notion that the lower cave was home to some dark spirit seems also to have transcended the Christianisation of the site. When we look for reasoning behind the construction of the small church there are, I believe, limited options. This site presents one of the finest examples of locative significance for the construction of a church; neither efficacy, practicality nor necessity provide sufficient reasoning for its location, notwithstanding the possible pilgrimage association with the place. As usual there are probably two principal arguments, which hinge upon where the Christians themselves perceived the spiritual focus of the site to be located. The first is the superposition perspective and the second concerns continuity. If the pre-existing structure itself was seen to be the source of ritual then we have reason to argue for the church as an eradicator of this memory. If however, as is more likely, the structure, together with the wall and statues, were protective measures against the dark spirits within, the church most probably was seen to perform the same function, thereby offering great continuity on the site, both in terms of its meaning, and its use.

An examination of the archaeology in the vicinity of the Corycian Cave also raises questions relevant to our general understanding of Christianisation. How does a small community like this with a single temple become a small community with a single church? Until the Clifftop Temple became a church it is reasonable to suppose that the Christian community was practising in another, less dedicated building, perhaps even within domestic housing. After the conversion of the temple, paganism would perhaps necessarily have become a domestic activity, although it may well already have been so for a considerable length of time,

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[134] It is remarkable incidentally that the early geographers, Strabo (670-1) and Pomponius Mela concentrated purely on the natural aspects of the site and mentioned no standing structures. Keil and Wilhelm suggested that Pomponius Mela might only have visited the stalactite cave to the west of the site (1931, 215).

[135] Bent 1890a, 447.

particularly if the area was sensitive to imperial legislation. As we have already seen in Chapter 5 however there are too many assumptions here, and we must accept first of all that pagans could have continued using the temple even after its closure and secondly that Christians might have been using the temple as a church long before any structural transformation.

KANYTELIS (KANLIDIVANE)[136]

The village of Kanytelis, known today as Kanlıdivane (meaning "bloody madness"), lay within the territory of Elaiussa-Sebaste and some 3km north of the late Roman palatial complex at Ak Kale. Like the settlement at the Corycian Cave its focus was a massive limestone sinkhole (200m long by 170m wide and 60m deep) clustered around which were five substantial churches, some 60-80 houses and an array of monumental tombs stretching off mainly to the north (Fig. 127).[137] Despite the presence of oil presses associated with the houses in the village, the prosperity of this settlement in the Roman and early Byzantine periods appears to have been based on its ritual significance, like its Corycian counterpart. Here it is perhaps even more explicit with the quantity and quality of churches and funerary monuments far outweighing what would be required for the size of the settlement.

The churches are extremely well preserved and existing literature has focussed upon their role in the development of Cilician architecture, particularly with regard to Church 4, an elegant building which features a tripartite transept and eastern passage (Fig. 128). Church 3 incorporates the remains of a number of pre-existing structures and has recently been the subject of a detailed study by Gabriele Mietke.[138] Notwithstanding the presence here of an Olban watchtower, the pre-Christian archaeology of the site is fragmentary, although scholars influenced to some degree by the arrangement at the Corycian Cave have argued for the existence of two temples, one on the cliff edge and the other within the depression itself.

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[136] Bent 1890a, 448-450; 1891, 209, ill; Hild, Hellenkemper et al. 1984, 208-10; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 285-6; Hill 1996, 179-193; Mietke and Westphalen 1999. Years of visit; 1993, 1998.

[137] A similar arrangement of a settlement surrounding a sinkhole with a temple in the bottom can be found at Kotrada in western Isauria (Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 320-1).

[138] Mietke and Westphalen 1999.

The Clifftop Temple?

Church 4 is built right on the edge of the cliff face, on a platform argued to have been originally constructed for a temple. Yet there is no indication today that any material from a temple was incorporated into the church, or in fact any other building on the site. We can in fact trace this argument back to find that its origins lay most probably in late 19th century local mythology. J. Theodore Bent produced two similar papers in 1890 on his explorations of Rough Cilicia, one rhetorical affair for the Royal Geographic Society and a more learned piece for the Hellenic Society. In the former, Bent describes access to the sinkhole:

> There were two roads down into it; one still practical, the other tunnelled in the rock, and now impassable, which probably had its outlet where the ruins of a Byzantine church now stand, and which may have been the site of a temple of the Olbian Jove (1890a, 449).

First of all, the notion that there was a temple of Zeus Olbios somewhere on this site is imaginative speculation. Bent's offering to the Hellenic society was slightly more measured and failed to mention the temple at all, but persisted with the notion of a tunnel.[139]

The first of the access routes mentioned is the principal means of access to the sinkhole today and descends the gentler south-east cliff of the depression. It is clear that Bent did not use the tunnel as he describes it as impassable. It is moreover difficult to understand what he actually saw, since the nature of a tunnel is that you can normally only see its beginning and end. It could be argued that he saw the entrance on the cliff edge, but in both papers it is clear that he was unsure actually where this upper entrance was located. What he probably saw, as he sat on the south side of the depression making his illustration, was the staircase that can be seen disappearing into a gloomy cave situated relatively low on the north-west face (Fig. 127).

It is not clear how Bent reckoned the connection between this and the church, since the low cave is a good distance to the church's west. The notion of a tunnel, in addition to a staircase providing access to the depression, has to be regarded as dubious until proven, since it should be remembered that the proverbial "connecting tunnel" is simply part of the standard repertoire of site description in this part of the world.[140] Bent was clearly not alone on this site

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[139] Bent 1891, 209.

[140] A passageway which turned out to be a 10m long entrance to a crypt was described to me in 1997 as being a tunnel connecting the city of Flaviopolis with Anazarbus: a distance of some 40km. This information was freely bestowed upon me by a perfectly sane man who was subsequently stunned by the results of our excavation.

as demonstrated by his illustration, which shows what appears to be a group of nomadic Yurouk who, along with his guide, could well have been the source of such information.

Gertrude Bell's account of the site unfortunately lent an air of certainty to these hypotheses with her description of Church 4:

> Bent observes that it stood on the site of a temple and that an underground passage, now blocked, led from it to the cave (Bell 1906b, 403).

Although subsequent work by Hild and Hellenkemper ignores these earlier postulations, the notion is revived by Hill, who in addition also makes a conclusive statement on the pit sanctuary:

> The site seems to have had strong religious associations: there was a sacred precinct in the bottom of the cavern, and it is likely that Church 4, which sits on the very edge of the cliff occupies the site of a second temple (1996, 179).

Another argument has emerged in support of the notion that Church 4 was somehow influenced by the pre-existing structure, whether temple or otherwise. This observation has been made in respect to the relatively excessive measures that have been taken in order to squeeze the church into the narrow plateau it occupies. As a means of compensation the north and south walls of the church begin to converge slightly, east of the apse, with the south wall following close to the edge of the cliff and the north-east corner cut deep into the rock (Fig. 128). As Forsyth pointed out, the church could have been built on flatter ground slightly further to the west, thereby avoiding this constriction.[141]

Hill suggested that the church might have had a funerary function, due to the encroachment of tombs on this side of the depression. We could suppose from this that the pre-existing structure might have been a tomb rather than a temple.[142] A commemorative purpose for the church would certainly more readily explain its uneasy positioning than the remains of a temple, which would only realistically influence the position of a church if parts of its structure were to be incorporated into the new building.

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[141] Forsyth 1961, 132; Hill 1996, 188.

[142] As suggested originally by Forsyth (1961, 132).

The Pit Sanctuary

The sinkhole at Kanlıdivane is a forbidding place. Yet it is believed that the dense jungle of vegetation covering its base obscures the remains of a pagan sanctuary or temple. It is perhaps not surprising that nobody appears to have ventured from the pathway running around the edge of the chasm floor in order to survey these remains, but by peering through the undergrowth one can occasionally see fragments of column drums and substantial blocks. It is quite possible however that these originated somewhere in the upper settlement and have either fallen or been dumped into the pit. The existence of the ancient staircase descending into the chasm on the south-west side should indicate at least that there was some reason to go down into the pit, an argument perhaps vindicated by the showcase of funerary reliefs on view around the cliff walls.

The vicinity of the depression appears to have undergone major developments in the late antique period, from when most of the present remains originate. If any pagan monuments pre-existed the churches here it appears that they were swept away with the Christianisation process. Unlike at the Corycian Cave there may not have been any Christian development within the depression itself. The fragments that have been observed amongst the undergrowth could perhaps therefore have been the remains of a temple from the settlement that was dismantled and disposed of in the pit, over which the Christian churches would subsequently loom, as if the sinkhole were the mouth of hell itself. The power of apotropaic symbolism that could be invoked with such an arrangement should not be underestimated.

ÇATI ÖREN[143]

This small village in the territory of Sebaste is cluttered around a rocky outcrop situated in a valley 3km west of Kanlıdivane (Fig. 129). Although the ancient name of the settlement is not known it nonetheless has provided a rich epigraphic record.[144] The settlement is overlooked from the top of the outcrop by a fine polygonal masonry temple probably of the 1st or 2nd century BC, apparently dedicated to Hermes and comprising a cella fronted by *antae* flanking a pair of columns (Fig. 130). This sat on a levelled shelf with the antae partially cut from the rock and just to the west of an Olban tower, presumably of a similar form to others in the region. There is no evidence of later modification to the temple so its survival remains an

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[143] Bent 1891, 210-11; Heberdy and Wilhelm 1896, 67-7; Feld 1963/4, 104-7, fig. 2; Hellenkemper and Hild 1986, 74-7, fig. 11, pls 94-5; Hill 1996, 147-8, fig. 25, pls 60-1; Year of visit; 1993.

[144] Hicks 1891, 232-236.

enigma. Hellenkemper and Hild suggested reasonably that this was because the size and building materials of the temple were inappropriate for either conversion or reuse.[145]

Facing the temple across the valley is a substantial basilica, believed to have been constructed on the podium of a temple (Fig. 131). It is located within the village cemetery, surrounded by tombs including the remains of a very fine mausoleum lying immediately to the east of the church (Fig. 132). Its funerary function is further attested by the presence of an eastern chamber featuring a small apse that still survives intact (Fig. 133). To the west of the church the corner of a structure is visible, built with quadratic masonry of a substantial block size (Fig. 134). Given that the rest of the church is built with small blocks, this element stands out as unusual and potentially as an earlier feature. Its position would suggest that it was employed in the lower course of a narthex, the presence of which is further attested by the consoles on the surviving outer face of the nave. The narthex was contemporary with the main body of the church as shown by the engaging blocks on the north-west corner of the basilica.

Bent was the first to remark on this structure and having assumed that it was the corner of a platform, went on to postulate that it might have been the remains of a pre-existing pagan temple. It appears that at least the footings of the two-storey narthex were constructed in a different fashion to that of the rest of the church, but according to Hill the structure could be seen to have continued as the lower courses of the south wall. Even if this was a podium however it should not be envisaged as a complete rectangle, since Gough had noted that illegal excavations within the basilica revealed that much of the church had been built on solid levelled bedrock. As a platform, it would presumably therefore have served to extend the level area of this surface to provide the space for a structure, in a method similar but on a larger scale to the Chapel of St Mary at the Corycian Cave (see above, p. 174).

The identification of this feature as a platform runs into further difficulties given that its highest course is above the floor level of the church and it actually resembles merely a wall, albeit a substantial one. An alternative explanation for this feature is as a large tomb, parts of which were somehow incorporated to the narthex. Such a structure would not have to be so much more substantial than the one which survives on the east side of the church, which is also constructed of quadratic masonry. The suggestion that the church might commemorate – through incorporation – a tomb in this way obviously draws analogies with Church 4 at nearby Kanlıdivane (see above, p. 178). It should be noted further that there is no evidence of

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[145] Hellenkemper and Hild 1986, 77.

spolia of the kind that would be expected from a temple, built into either the church or any other buildings on the site.

I confess that I am not entirely content with any of the explanations for the pre-existing feature. Its south wall does not align with that of the church and so if the south wall of the narthex also followed this line it would not have communicated well with the main body of the church. There are also only two consoles surviving from what is reputed to be the supports for the second storey of the narthex, making it appear that the feature supported, whether flooring in the narthex or a loggia, or roofing for a porch, was not carried all the way along the west side, even though an upper doorway into the north gallery is still visible (Fig. 134). Hellenkemper and Hild further suggested that the narthex might not even have been completed, since column shafts that lay in the vicinity and were assumed to belong to the narthex had apparently not been completed. In addition, its poor survival starkly contrasts with the well-preserved remains of the rest of the church.[146] It has been shown elsewhere that in some basilicas the narthex was often a secondary construction, although forming part of the original design scheme.[147] Further complications in this church are suggested by the curious kink that appears in its north wall. Unfortunately I did not investigate the possible causes whilst on site, but it may have somehow resulted from attempts to accommodate the church into the rock face rather than being evidence of the influence of an earlier structure.[148] This is a structure that requires further investigation in the light of the above discussion.

The Temple of Hermes had clearly been the focus of this settlement in antiquity. The top of the outcrop had been levelled off for its construction and a rock-cut staircase approached the summit from below. The general view of this site today is extremely evocative, with the temple and church both looming over the village from opposing sides of the valley. The survival of the temple despite the apparent Christianisation of the village is intriguing, particularly as there is no clear evidence of any later structural modifications to the pagan monument. This situation at Çatı Ören is perhaps a glimpse of the reality of Christianisation on the fringes of the legislative domain. These are unfortunately usually relatively obscure places that generally avoided both the contemporary historians' gaze and the more recent archaeologist's attentions.

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[146] Hellenkemper and Hild 1986, 77; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 225.

[147] Ousterhout 1985; Bayliss 1997.

[148] This only appears on Hill's plan and not on Feld's so it is presumably derived from Gough's unpublished investigation of the site.

THE SHRINE OF ST THECLA (MERYEMLIK)[149]

The location of the dramatic descent of St Thecla into the ground on her death became in the Byzantine period one of the most important pilgrimage sites in Asia Minor and an important way station for those on the route to the Holy Land. Like many of the great pagan ritual centres of antiquity this sanctuary was attached to a city but distanced from it, the city being Seleucia (Silifke), previously discussed with regard to its temple conversion. The shrine is situated on wide plateau some 2km to the south of the city along the edge of which runs a low ridge. The principal – and presumably processional – route between the city and its shrine takes a gradual ascent through the necropolis and cuts through this ridge as a man-made gorge before finally reaching the sanctuary of the saint (Fig. 85).

The plateau occupied by the ruins of the sanctuary is now something of a barren wasteland, adding increasing importance to the colourful descriptions of the late 4th century traveller Egeria and the anonymous 5th century author of the *Life and Miracles of St Thecla.*[150] Here we see snapshots of the site in its most active days, even though both sources were probably written long before the sanctuary reached its full extent. They describe lush gardens and aviaries, an active residential community (presumably monastic) living in cells, lodgings for pilgrims and above all the great martyrium of the saint. The site was expanded in the 5th and 6th centuries with the construction of new churches and at some point a quadratic masonry wall was constructed which appears to have enclosed the entire site, although it only survives on the east side. Ultimately then, the site of around 20 hectares was to take on the resemblance of an early Byzantine town in its own right, with churches, housing, a water supply and its own fortification.[151]

The martyrium itself had been equipped with its own separate fortified precinct wall, which Egeria saw and commented on and which still survives in part today (Figs 135, 136). Recent commentators have however suggested that this substantial construction might have belonged to an earlier period, explaining its origins as the pre-existing temenos of a pagan temple. The fluted columns surviving within the cave church beneath the 5th-century basilica are therefore argued to have belonged to the original temple on the site and the suggestion has also been

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[149] Wilkinson 1971, 121, 288-92; Hill 1996, 208-225, figs 42-3, pl. 98; Years of visit: 1993, 1998.

[150] Wilkinson 1971, 121; Dagron 1978.

[151] Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 442.

made that the cave itself had been the focus of pre-Christian ritual activity, which was superseded by the cult of St Thecla (Fig. 137).[152]

Temple Remains?

The great 5th century basilica from which parts of the apse still stand (Fig. 138) replaced a 4th century church described by Egeria after her visit in 384, but the location of which is not entirely certain.[153] The 5th-century church at least was built over an irregular natural cave, apparently where Thecla had spent her final days, which was itself at some point modified to function as a church. This cave-church, which has now lost much of its original shape due to subsequent erosion, continued to function as a vital element of the site as evidenced by the provision of an opening into it from the south side of the 5th-century church. The cave church clearly went though subsequent stages of repair and consolidation, but it also appears to incorporate *spolia* from an earlier structure, in the form of two rows of three fluted columns dividing the nave (Fig. 137), the style of which suggested to Wilkinson a Roman date. The presence of Roman-period columns is not however sufficient evidence to infer the former existence of a temple and Hellenkemper pointed out that these could equally have come from a nearby residence, or perhaps more likely, a tomb in the nearby necropolis.[154]

Guyer's suggestion that the cave church dated to the 3rd century would of course make the pre-existing temple hypothesis extremely unlikely, but would explain the origins of the columns, which could then be seen to be of primary Roman date. Perhaps in support of Guyer's argument, according to the late 2nd-century apocryphal acts of Paul and Thecla (Ch. 10), the site outside the city had been chosen by Thecla as her abode since she feared the idol-worshippers of Seleucia. This is somewhat out of keeping with the notion that the site of Thecla's shrine had previously been a place of pagan cultic significance.

The Precinct Wall

A circuit wall with rectangular corner towers, enclosing an area of some 180m by 60m around the great church, still partially survives today (Figs 135, 136). Further evidence survives to

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[152] Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 443; Hill 1996, 213. There are a number of other caves in the vicinity of Seleucia which appear to have served for pagan and often subsequent Christian purposes, for example the nearby shrine at Tagai, a cave site bearing a dedication to Athena later occupied by a Christian monastery (Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 424).

[153] Wilkinson 1971, 288; Gregory of Nazianzus stayed at the shrine of St Thecla somewhere between 376-9, although the architectural composition of the site at this time is less clear (V*ita* 548).

[154] Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 442.

suggest the presence of a gateway on the north side including the fragmentary remains of a flanking tower. This aligned with the principal north-south route through the site and may probably have been the sole entrance to the precinct. Courses of massive, friction-bonded quadratic masonry survive, primarily on the north side, but also in parts to the west and east. Since Herzfeld's plan was made it is now also possible to see the south-east corner and the parts of the south wall. The contrast between the masonry of the precinct wall and that of the churches led Hill to suggest that these walls may have pre-existed the Christian occupation of this site and therefore perhaps originated as the temenos wall of a temple.

Other evidence however points to a late antique date for this fortification. In Egeria's brief description of the shrine, the precinct wall receives more attention than even the martyrium:

> There are a great many cells on that hill, and in the middle a great wall round the martyrium itself, which is very beautiful. The wall was built to protect the church against the Isaurians, who are hostile, and always committing robberies, to prevent them from trying to damage the monastery which has been established there (Egeria, 23.4; Wilkinson 1971, 121-2).

It is not the place here to recount the historical, archaeological and epigraphic evidence for the problems of security in Isauria, particularly in late antiquity, but suffice to say that the fortification of an extra-mural and probably wealthy church must have been a necessity.[155] At least according to Egeria then the precinct wall was built at some point in the 4th century, either contemporary with, or following the construction of the first church.

A large cistern is incorporated into the north wall of the precinct, which seems undoubtedly to be part of the original construction.[156] From preliminary observations it would appear that the mortar in parts of the cistern is consistent with that of the temenos wall, which in turn is comparable with the mortar of the surviving 5th-century apse.[157] Although further investigation is certainly required this evidence may point to the contemporaneity of the precinct wall and the 5th-century church, which given Egeria's 4th century sighting of the wall would suggest that what survives today is a 5th-century rebuild and not an earlier structure.

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[155] See for example Thompson 1946, Mitford 1980 (pp. 1250-1), Shaw 1984, Matthews 1989 (pp. 355-75) and Mitchell 1993, vol. 1 (pp. 234-5).

[156] This can be seen particularly on its east side where the bond between the circuit wall and the cistern wall is clearly original.

[157] This does not however concur with Guyer's early 6th century date for the cistern, which was agreed by Forsyth with familiar gusto (Herzfeld and Guyer 1930, 80; Forsyth 1957, 224, figs 2-3).

In Northern Syria it is possible to find several examples of 5th and 6th century churches constructed within quadrangular precincts, rather than with an atrium or a southern courtyard, which were more common arrangements.[158] The layout of the early 6th-century South Church at il-Anderin bears the most striking similarities to that of Meryemlik, since its precinct wall was also constructed like a fortification, with projecting corner towers (Fig. 139). At il-Anderin the interior of the wall was buttressed and some evidence suggests that the wall at Meryemlik might have been treated in the same way.[159]

Evagrius recorded that the emperor Zeno built a μέγιστον τέμενος in honour of St Thecla at Seleucia.[160] It is usually assumed that this support was for one or more of the churches and the notion that τέμενος might actually be referring to "a temenos", or precinct, appears to have been dismissed outright in the quest for dating the churches.[161] It remains possible however that Evagrius was actually referring to a 5th-century rebuilding of the precinct wall seen in its original form by Egeria, nearly a century before. Hill is right however that this evidence could be interpreted in a number of ways, perhaps even referring to multiple developments across the entire site.[162]

CANBAZLI[163]

Little remains of this ancient settlement situated in a fertile pocket of land on the ancient road between Corycos and Olba, in the territory of the latter. The remains of impressive heroa from the Roman period attest to both the location of the settlement's cemetery and the apparent wealth of some of its residents in the 2nd century AD. Inscriptions from the town allude to the worship of underground deities, otherwise little is known of the settlement, either in terms of its status or its ancient name.[164] Three churches have been recorded, the most substantial of which survives in a remarkable state of preservation along with its precinct wall, which like Meryemlik, is thought to have been reused from a temple (Figs 140, 141).

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[158] Butler 1969, 207-9.

[159] Butler 1969, 209, fig. 209.

[160] Evagrius, *Eccl. Hist.* III. 8.

[161] Hill 1996, 213. It could of course also be a reference to the previously mentioned circuit wall that enclosed the whole complex.

[162] Hill 1996, 213-4.

[163] Bent 1891, 219; Feld 1963/4, 98-9; Eyice 1979; Hild, Hellenkemper et al. 1984, 250-2, fig. 28; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 223, pl. 150; Hill 1996, 106-110, fig. 14, pls 24-7; Years of visit: 1993, 1998.

[164] Keil and Wilhelm 1931, 33f, nos. 56 & 60.

The Church in the Precinct

Apparently situated some distance to the south of the ancient settlement, this basilica survives for the most part to the height of its cornice, even though it shows little evidence of having served any function subsequent to its role as a church. Surrounding the church is a large precinct wall: an irregular square enclosing an area of around 75m^2. Hill was right to suggest that attempts to date the church are probably a "hopeless undertaking" and suggestions have ranged from the 2nd half of the 4th century (Eyice) to the early 6th century (Feld).

Three aspects of this church have led to the suggestion that it occupies the site of a temple. The first is the presence of the precinct wall that, it is argued, would originally have formed the temenos wall of the temple. This appears to have been assumed from the large size of the blocks used to build the wall, which are perhaps considered to be too substantial for early Byzantine construction in this region. Secondly it is argued that much of the church is constructed from reused blocks. Finally it has been suggested that the quirkiness of the narthex reflects respect to the foundations of a pre-existing structure (Fig. 141). I will address each of these arguments individually in the following discussion.

The Precinct Wall

The church and precinct occupy a southerly-facing slope. This is most obvious with regard to the precinct wall, which survives to a considerable height on the south side but only to a couple of courses on the north. The limestone bedrock lies either very close to the surface or is exposed throughout this area, so for the construction of the precinct the whole area of the precinct was levelled off to create a terrace, perhaps in the process providing quarry stone for the new structure.

For the construction of precinct's north wall the bedrock has been cut to form the lowest course and little remains of the wall itself. The northern part of the east wall is very rough indeed but as the ground falls away to the south, more of the wall is exposed and its fine construction is clearly visible from the adjacent road. Much of this stretch has been rebuilt or repaired. For the southernmost 25 metres or so of the east side a substantial socle is visible (Fig. 142), which continues along the well preserved south side, where the wall stands to about 3m in parts (Fig. 143). The wall in its entirety was clearly planned to be of consistent height, which given the nature of the slope, actually required it to increase in height towards the south, hence the more substantial foundation at this end.

The precinct wall is not a consistent structure. The masonry on the east side bears a striking resemblance to that of the church both in terms of size and implementation. Also the moulding on the surviving western doorway of the precinct is similar to that found in the church and neither of these can stylistically be distinguished between the Roman and early Byzantine periods. Hill seems convinced that this wall has been inherited from a temple but fails to provide any supporting evidence. His statement that it could be "hardly later than the third century, and might well be earlier" appears to be based solely on the assumption that it belonged to a temple. In contrast Hild and Hellenkemper suggest that the wall was constructed from imperial-period *spolia* and was therefore contemporary with the church.[165] A few inscriptions have been found in the precinct wall, which would seem to represent prayers and invocations but which are largely illegible. One of these published by Eyice mentions μύστης, apparently alluding to a mystery cult of some sort. All are however largely incomplete which would suggest that they are reused in this context.[166]

As we have already seen with regard to the Sanctuary of St Thecla (Meryemlik) at Seleucia it was perfectly reasonable for an extra-mural church to receive its own fortifications, such was the wealth of these sites and the insecurity of the rural landscape in these parts. I would argue strongly that given the similarity with the construction of the church and the analogy with Meryemlik, this wall is most likely to be a late antique construction and probably contemporary with the basilica.

Architectural Reuse

The argument for the use of *spolia* in the construction of the church is also tenuous. The original source for the masonry appears to be the site itself, where the limestone bedrock – exposed in many places – could have effectively been quarried during the process of levelling. With the possible exception of some of the capitals, there is no material in the church that has any clear indication of earlier usage. The "extensive re-use of building materials in the church" suggested by Hill appears therefore somewhat misleading.[167] There are no reused inscriptions or fragments of architectural sculpture incorporated in the masonry. The central door to the nave bears a Christian symbol in raised relief, which was therefore part of the original carving along with the well-executed bead-and-reel border on the same frame.

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[165] Hill 1996, 107; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 223.

[166] Eyice 1979, 24; Keil and Wilhelm 1931, 40-3.

[167] Hill 1996, 110.

One of the principal curiosities of this church is the multitude of different capitals used in the lower arcade (Fig. 144). It seems that all previous commentators have presumed that these were all obtained from other structures as an explanation for the variations in style. No one appears to have accommodated the notion that this was simply a piece of artistic licence on the part of the sculptors, an exercise of extravagance rather than opportunism, in a similar vein to the first Lateran basilica in Rome or the Cathedral at Poreč.[168] In any case most of the capitals within the church find parallels in mid-to-late 5th or early 6th century contexts and could therefore not have originated in a temple.

The exceptions are the pier capitals at the ends of the surviving south arcade, which are apparently in reuse from a building of the 3rd or 4th century and the capitals of the gallery, the local analogies for which are probably 3rd century. However the closest parallels to the pier capitals survive in the settlement today as part of grand temple-tombs and the gallery capitals have been dated by their similarity to those found on other tombs in the region. We might therefore suggest that the capitals originated from similar tombs in the vicinity, rather than from a temple.

Otto Feld further suggested that the finely executed north wall of the church was constructed entirely from reused blocks, with the exception of its uppermost five courses (Fig. 145).[169] Although it can be seen that the higher courses of this wall have weathered more extensively than lower down, the coursing and block sizes are nevertheless consistent throughout.[170] The practice of employing "poorer quality" masonry in the upper courses of a church is standard in Cilician architecture, and is usually represented by the characteristic *Kleinquaderwerk*. In fact the masonry in this church is relatively consistent throughout the main structure, so if a temple cella had been the source for this material it must have been an enormous building of unparalleled proportions in this region. We can therefore quite clearly state that the evidence for extensive reuse of *spolia* in the construction of the basilica at Canbazlı is far from conclusive.

Influence of an earlier structure

Stephen Hill has suggested that the influence of an earlier structure may be detected in the peculiarities of the narthex and also in the north-easterly orientation of the church (Fig. 141). From the various plans produced of the church there is apparent disagreement over its

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[168] Krautheimer 1983, 15-18; Terry 1988.

[169] Feld 1963/4, 99.

[170] This slight erosion of the margins in the upper courses is more visible from the interior of the church.

orientation, which is given by Keil and Wilhelm as almost directly east-west but by others as south-west by north-east.[171] It would seem that the actual orientation lies somewhere between the two with the apse facing east-north-east.

The size of the narthex and the fact that it extends beyond the north-south limits of the main basilica walls is not in itself a problem as it is a form found elsewhere in Rough Cilicia.[172] The real peculiarity is the disparity in the relative east-west dimensions of the north and south chambers of the narthex, the compensation for this being the angle in the central portion of this western facade. Keil and Wilhelm suggested that the narthex was a later feature although this has been disputed on the basis that its pilaster capitals are consistent with those of the nave. However there is a subtle but distinct difference in the construction techniques of the narthex and main body of the church, which would suggest that Keil and Wilhelm's argument should not be totally abandoned. The coursing throughout much of the church is precise and the masonry tightly bonded, whereas in the narthex a different, less well-defined system is employed, where the lines of courses are broken by the use of different block sizes in a single course. This occurs at no other point in the church.

It is further apparent that the original narthex – whether the surviving one or not – was constructed separate from the main body of the church. The connection between the narthex and the basilica walls on both sides is one-way, i.e. there are a couple of projecting blocks on the basilica walls showing the expectation to receive the narthex walls, but no bonding in the other direction, from the narthex into the basilica walls (Fig. 146). It seems likely then, as elsewhere in Cilicia, that the narthex was a secondary structural component of the basilica, either built significantly later or simply as a sub-phase of the overall scheme. This is most evident with the previously discussed church at Çatı Ören, where the narthex might not even have been completed yet the west wall of the nave had already been prepared with projecting stumps of masonry in order to receive it.

Despite the difficulties of interpreting the character of the narthex it does seem highly likely that its oddities are caused by multiple phases rather than an earlier structure on the site. On the north side it is clear to see that the church sits directly on exposed bedrock, which is also visible at floor level within the church. The scope for surviving influential footings is therefore extremely limited. Hill actually provides a perfectly reasonable explanation for the curious alignments by ascribing two phases to the construction of the narthex. The result of

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[171] Hild, Hellenkemper et al. 1984, fig. 28.

[172] For example the North Church at Öküzlü and the South Church at Yanıkhan (Hill 1996, figs 46 & 59).

this however is that by explaining the narthex in terms of later alterations he is effectively dismissing his own suggestion that the construction was influenced by something earlier.

Concluding Remarks

Through a re-evaluation of this basilica I have deconstructed a number of preconceptions regarding the site's pre-Christian usage. This has important wider implications and in many ways makes the structure even more impressive, since the reason for its construction in the first place become clearer. This was not a church built because of the availability of local materials, nor a church built to smother some ancient pagan demon. The existence of the fortification wall and indeed the magnificent preservation of the church itself would suggest that the site was occupied and maintained for a long period of time, in which case it is surprising that there was no later reduction as found extensively elsewhere. The remoteness of the site might have lent itself to a longer survival, but there are more remote churches that have fared less well in Cilicia and anyone passing on the road from Corycos to Olba would have certainly walked past it. It was very often the association of a site with a saint, local or otherwise, that would lead to the survival of a church complex while nearby urban communities were failing. The presence of a substantial cistern adjacent to the church, presumably collecting rainwater from its roof, is further evidence in support of a relatively independent basis to this site. A cistern is similarly situated in the main Syrian parallel for the precinct churches, the South Church at il-Anderin (Fig. 139).[173] Comparisons of both Canbazlı and il-Anderin to the Church of St Thecla at Seleucia and the Church of St Nicolas at Myra in Lycia, both substantial extra-mural pilgrimage and probably monastic complexes, should therefore inevitably be drawn.

DAĞ PAZARI[174]

This Isaurian city lying east of the Calycadnos valley above Seleucia is believed to be the remains of either Coropissos or Dalisandos, in the territory of Claudiopolis (Mut).[175] Epigraphical evidence demonstrates that this was undoubtedly a city and bishopric in late antiquity, this fact underlined by the extensive archaeological evidence of walls, fortifications and churches. The remains of three churches survive, two of which are believed to have been

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[173] Butler 1920, 58-60.

[174] Davis 1879, 325-6; Gough 1976a; Hild, Hellenkemper et al. 1984, 263-9; Hill 1996, 149-50.

[175] Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 313; Hill 1996, 150.

constructed from earlier buildings; one from a secular basilica and one, less convincingly, from a temple.

The Basilica[176]

The form of this church was clearly heavily influenced by its predecessor, as is typical of churches built from the remains of secular structures (Fig. 147). This was most probably a conversion of a pre-existing basilica although Hill admits that this solution is merely the best interpretation of what was a very confusing structure upon excavation. His account is largely based on Gough's field notes and interim reports, since the church was never fully published. The trabeated colonnades of the aisles are believed to have been inherited from the earlier structure, as is the orientation: the apse points to the south-east. This is however one of the few churches in Cilicia for which we have reasonable dating. A coin of Arcadius (383-408) found beneath the – presumably original – flooring of the church provides a *terminus post quem*. A late 4th or early 5th century date for the conversion of the secular basilica would be consistent with the observation that in general, secular urban structures provided the context for church conversion at an earlier date than the direct conversion of temples.

Hill's observations on the narthex are particularly revealing. He explained its misalignment from the main body of the church as an attempt to compensate for the south-easterly orientation of the church by re-asserting an east-west orientation at least to the west end of the structure. This is an attractive and potentially significant argument, which may at the same time infer that the narthex was a later addition. There appears to have been much more flexibility over church orientation until the 5th century when the easterly orientation was enforced as an ecclesiastical precedent. Its effect can be observed most conspicuously in the complete reversal of the formerly west-facing church of St Peter at Baalbek (Fig. 58), but also in the 5th century remodelling of the Necropolis Church at Anemurium in Cilicia.[177] Another possibility for Dağ Pazarı may be that the narthex was further influenced by other structures to the west of the original basilica that were not discerned at the time of the excavation. The site has deteriorated considerably since Gough's excavations and it is unlikely that it will ever be possible to address these questions further.

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[176] Hill 1996, 151-155, fig. 27, pls 62-3.

[177] For Baalbek see Ragette 1980; To the south-east facing church at Anemurium a south side chamber was added which tends more to the east than the existing church orientation (Russel 1977, 6-8, figs 3-5; Hill 1996, 94-96, fig. 8).

Domed Church[178]

The Domed Basilica is more famous for its role in the development of Christian architecture than for its pre-Christian origins, but it has been claimed that this church may have been constructed on the site of a temple (Fig. 148). This was first suggested by Davis and slightly later by Headlam, both of whom saw the church and its environs in a much better state of preservation than they exist today.[179] Headlam based his argument on the distinctive foundations, which he believed were from the earlier structure and also on the existence of a large precinct wall around the church. Unfortunately the foundations are no longer visible and the precinct wall has not survived. The only remaining evidence is the masonry of the church itself, which is particularly fine, but so is everything else about this church, especially its design. I have already made clear in my discussion of the church at Canbazlı, that well-finished quadratic masonry need not necessarily be indicative of reused material.

With the prominence of its situation within the city it would however come as no great surprise to find that this hilltop had long been a ritual. However the broader context of the architecture of the church has remained the focus of studies and excavations on the site and the issue of any pre-existing structure have been largely ignored.

OLBA (URA)[180]

As we have already seen the principal sanctuary of the city of Olba was situated some 4km distant and in the 1st century AD became a city in its own right, Diocaesarea, which eventually outshone its former patron metropolis. From the historical evidence Olba appears to enter a period of obscurity in late antiquity although its appearance in the miracles of St Thecla and the occasional Church Council bishop list at least attests to its continued urban status.[181] Three churches have been reported in the city. One by the stream in the necropolis is now completely lost, the second was a substantial extra-mural monastic complex and the third was a large central basilica known as "The Town Church" and apparently built on the podium

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[178] Davis 1879, 325-6; Forsyth 1957, figs 37-44; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 313-4; Hill 1996, 155-160, fig. 28, pls 64-70.

[179] Davis 1879, 325-6; Headlam 1892, 20.

[180] Bell 1906b, 33-4, fig. 29; Hild, Hellenkemper et al. 1984, 250; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 370, pl. 328; Hill 1996, 250-2, figs 54-5, pls 112-3; Years of visits; 1993, 1998.

[181] Dagron 1978, 350 (24, 5); Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 370.

of a temple. Keil and Wilhelm reported what they believed to be the remains of a temple on the acropolis but this has now been completely lost due to stone robbing.[182]

The Town Church

The name given to this church reflects little more than its physical location, adjacent to the remains of the theatre and nymphaeum and therefore presumably in the centre of the late antique city. Not much survives above the lowest course with the exception of the apse, which itself appears to have suffered severe earthquake damage in the past 20 years and is now barely standing (Fig. 149). Much of the plan was discernible when Bell visited in 1905, its most notable stylistic features being the "Syrian-style" projecting side-chambers (Fig. 150).

Architecturally this temple conversion stands out from most other Cilician examples due to the quantity of *spolia* that has been implemented, as described by Hill: "many of the blocks of the apse have been cut down from larger blocks, and some have battered traces of inscriptions and mouldings which have been dressed flat."[183] In the Cilician examples discussed here, only the churches at Castabala in the plain come close to this church in terms of the quantity of *spolia* incorporated (see below, *Heirapolis Castabala*). Hill also observed the presence of two classical-style Corinthian capitals and fluted columns lying within the nave of the church, which were presumably reused within the nave arcades. By the time I visited the site in 1993 these had been removed and reused in the embankment of the improved road: a low terrace wall made almost entirely from worked blocks and various columns. A fragment of a single column survives in the church however since it had been reused on its side in the south side of the apse (Fig. 151). This is a relatively narrow gauged fluted shaft (70-80cm width) with partial infill in the lower portions of the fluting, in a way similar but more delicately contrived than at Diocaesarea. It should be pointed out that in both churches at Castabala most of the *spolia* was hidden away in the core of the church, whereby at Olba the visibility of reused blocks did not appear to be a concern.

Hill was particularly interested in the east end of the church, which presumably led him to make the discovery of the platform, which he argues originated from a temple. On his revised plan of the church he shows this feature in the external space between the side-chambers where the curve of the apse is set forward. This feature was not visible when I was at the site

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[182] Keil and Wilhelm 1931, 80; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 370.

[183] Hill 1996, 251.

due to the increased level of undergrowth and debris on the site, so fortunately Hill describes it:

> Visible sections of the podium, at the north east and south west corners, are constructed from large ashlars, which were friction bonded, and dressed much more smoothly than those of the surviving walls of the apse (1996, 251).

Doorways lead from both side chambers onto the extant platform outside the apse and Hill has argued for the existence an eastern passage, extending therefore beyond the eastern edge of the podium.

So what can we deduce about this structure? Due to the multiplicity of material that has been employed it is not possible to work out whether there was a single or multiple source for the masonry of the church. The nature of the podium at the east end is not clear as no mention is made of either a podium base moulding or cornice, which would normally be expected (cf. Fig. 89). Lower courses of substantial finely dressed blocks is of course something that we often see in Cilician churches, particularly in the east where the first course often comprised reused orthostat blocks. Indeed, as we saw at the Corycian Cave and Canbazlı, fine quadratic masonry was not exclusive to pre-Christian construction. From the description provided of this feature we cannot rule out the possibility that this comprised material in reuse, rather than the surviving component of a temple.

EPIPHANIA (ERZIN)[184]

The remains of the abandoned ancient city widely acknowledged to be Epiphania have suffered enormously from the construction of the major Adana-Gaziantep highway, which cuts through the western end on an elevated platform. The Ministry for Highways has however made considerable effort to preserve the directly affected remains and much of the recent damage to the site appears to have been caused by efforts since the early 1980s to cultivate parts of the site. To take a positive note on the consequences of these activities, Mary Gough's description of the overgrown and treacherous nature of the site from her stay in 1952 is worth recounting: "The flora of Erzin seemed to consist almost entirely of every variety of thorn.... the fauna consisted largely of snakes".[185] I have included my sketch plan

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[184] Heberdy and Wilhelm 1896, 23-4; Gough 1955, 202-3; Gough, M. 1954, 111-2, 117; Stillwell, MacDonald et al. 1976, 315; Hill 1984, 528; Hellenkemper and Hild 1986, 102-4; Hill 1996, 166-7; Year of visit: 1994.

[185] Gough, M. 1954, 111.

of the city in this thesis for no good reason other than the fact that the remains appear to be so endangered (Fig. 152).

The Temple-Church

Apparently as a result of this disruption to the site, nothing remains *in situ* of the temple-church that Gough claimed to be – along with the one at Ayaş – probably the earliest church surviving in Cilicia.[186] Towards the later part of the Goughs' stay they discovered a second church, which is not described in any detail.[187] Although they spent several weeks on the site, only a few photos survive in their archive, none of which show the churches. This is despite the fact that Mary Gough describes the work carried out on the two churches they found on the site:

> They [the orthostat block of the church] were a great pleasure to us, and we measured each one meticulously…There was another church of which we were able to take the ground plan (Gough, M. 1954, 112, 117).

Gough's brief note on the temple-church is the most detailed surviving published account of this structure. Heberdy had visited the site long before Gough, in 1892, and sketched the plan of a church that did eventually receive publication (Fig. 153), although it is not entirely clear which of Gough's churches it depicts. It seems likely however that it shows the "early" temple-church, which is described by Gough as having no narthex, nor any side-chambers and no evidence of colonnades. This matches Heberdy's plan, with the exception of the narthex, which could easily have disappeared in the intervening period, particularly as it already appears to have been largely hypothesised on his plan.

From Michael Gough's description, the temple conversion appears to have comprised a simple cella to which a brick, *opus caementicum*, or rough stone apse had been added.[188] The lowest visible course of the structure was a row of substantial orthostat blocks 0.75m wide

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[186] Gough 1955. According to Otto Feld, the lower courses remained *in situ* in 1966 (1986, n. 20).

[187] Hill claims that Gough "described this as a conventional Cilician basilica with narthex, nave and aisle, and side-chambers flanking an inscribed apse", although I was unable to find such a description in Gough's published work (Hill 1996, 166). This may have been the "Black Church" which appears to have been synonymous with this place according to Arabic sources; the name presumably referring to a structure built entirely from the local rock, black basalt (Hellenkemper and Hild 1986, 104).

[188] "Brick" = Gough, M. 1954, 112; Gough 1955, 203. "Concrete" = Stillwell, MacDonald et al. 1976, 315. "Rough stone" = Hild, Hellenkemper et al. 1984, 194 from Heberdy's notes. I suspect the former to be correct as the Princeton Encyclopaedia entry was written a considerable length of time after the Goughs' stay at Erzin.

and Heberdy reported the presence of granite columns.[189] Today the approximate location of this church is probably indicated by a large pile of limestone masonry, which has been bulldozed to the edge of a newly created field to the south of the colonnaded street (Fig. 154). This includes several orthostats of the size described by Gough and many other substantial blocks, including some which bear circular settings for columns, some which carry a simple inverted *cyma reversa* base moulding and a number of massive completely square blocks with connection sockets and channels for metal bonding.

The way in which Heberdy uses a broken line to draw the apse of the church seems somehow to reflect either its poor state of preservation or perhaps that it was something different from the rest of the church, which could draw a correlation with their comments on the apse building material. Having seen the size of the blocks that survive today it is not surprising that the apse would have been of very different material, as these could not have been employed effectively in such a structure. The most available building materials for reuse on the site were the small basalt blocks (*Kleinquaderwerk*) and the brick, which were employed extensively in this city's buildings.

This leaves us with one final problem. If we are dealing with a church that comprised a poorly constructed apse tacked onto an existing temple cella, then from Heberdy's plan this was clearly an enormous temple with a cella larger than those both at Seleucia and Diocaesarea. In addition the proportions seem too squat for the cella from a peripteral temple and while a simple cella *in antis* might be more proportionally appropriate it would be unprecedented to find one of this scale. It seems much more likely that this was a church that has been constructed from the remains of an imperial-period structure, perhaps indeed a temple, using the orthostat blocks in its lowest course. The low orthostat course and the base moulding in particular would draw parallels with eastern Cilician church construction, in particular found at the Church of the Apostles at Anazarbus and the narthex of the Alacami at Kadirli. It should be pointed out that neither of these churches was definitely built from the remains of a temple and the material for the latter probably derived from monumental tombs.[190] These churches are both believed to date from the late 5th or early 6th centuries. It is not impossible that Gough mistook a low wall of well-integrated *spolia* for a surviving temple wall, a

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[189] Hild, Hellenkemper et al. 1984, 194. Gough described the lowest course of the structure as laying some 1.5m below ground level, so we cannot rule out the possibility that some of the temple-church survived the recent levelling of the ground surface.

[190] Mietke 1999a; Bayliss 1999b.

perfectly reasonable error that we have already seen with respect to the misinterpretation of the temple-church at the Corycian Cave.[191]

The brickwork of the apse is Gough's principal evidence to suggest an early date for the church. Hill points out that brick is a characteristic of Roman architecture until the end of the 3rd century and Armenian architecture in the twelfth, but that it is not found in early Byzantine churches in this region.[192] As I have already explained however, the material used in the apse was presumably the most available material on the site at the time of construction. So while Epiphania perhaps fails to provide us with the earliest temple conversion in Cilicia, it does most probably give us another church constructed as part of that distinctive milieu of eastern Cilician architecture, most evident in the churches of the plain and foothills of the Taurus.[193]

CASTABALA (HIERAPOLIS CASTABALA / BODRUM)[194]

Two churches of very similar plan survive amongst the ruins of the ancient city of Hierapolis Castabala in the east of the Cilician Plain (Fig. 155). As with nearby Anazarbus, the abandonment of the settlement before modern times has helped preserve the considerable remains of the ancient city. This was built around a relatively compact pinnacle of rock: an acropolis some 35m high, which today preserves the remains of an Armenian fortress, representing one of the latest (probably 13th century) periods of activity at the site. A few surviving columns of the *cardo*, originally some 300m long and 11.2m wide, still stand in the fields below the acropolis and remains of other substantial structures can also be found, including baths and a theatre (Fig. 156). The city was most famous in antiquity as the location of the Shrine of Artemis Perasia, although the site of her temple within the city has not been identified with certainty. J. Theodore Bent believed that its location was indicated by the presence of substantial foundations lying to the south of the colonnaded street, although this was disputed as inconclusive in a more recent study of Hierapolis and its main cult.[195] The

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[191] Also suggested in a footnote by Feld (1986, n. 20).

[192] Hill 1996, 166. Hill also notices that Gough appears to have later changed his mind over the dates of the churches, which are given as 5th or 6th century in the *Princeton Encyclopaedia of Classical Sites*.

[193] Feld 1986, 80; Bayliss 1997; Mietke 1999a.

[194] Bent 1890b, 233-5, plan; Bell 1906a, 4-9, figs 1-6; Dupont-Sommer and Robert 1964; Feld 1965, esp. 139-143, pls 6-8; Hild, Hellenkemper et al. 1984, 194-7; Feld 1986; Hellenkemper 1994, figs 24-5; Hill 1996, 104-5, figs 12-13, pl. 22; Year of visit: 1994.

[195] Bent 1890b, 235; Dupont-Sommer and Robert 1964. Hild and Hellenkemper appear to have settled with Bent's location (Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 293).

authors pointed out that given the fundamental role of the cult of the goddess in the very existence of the city, the primary function of this particularly wide colonnaded street would have been as a channel for ritual and procession which ultimately led to the shrine of the goddess. It would make more sense therefore if the temple had been situated on the flat ground at the eastern end of the street.[196]

The possibility remains however that the temple's masonry was used to construct the churches on the site. There is no direct evidence that either of these is a temple conversion so both can probably be considered as *spolia*-churches.

North Church

This church lies to the south of the principal colonnaded street about halfway along its length (Figs 156, 157). It is parallel to the street and distanced from it by around 5m. This space might have functioned as a narrow courtyard, although it could perhaps more realistically be explained as the walkway and perhaps shops lying behind the colonnade. A gateway through the colonnade of the main street apparently provided the principal approach to the west end of the church (Fig. 158). Heberdy and Wilhelm believed that the gate was associated with the construction of the church, as its jambs, lintel and surmounting architrave are clearly in reuse.[197]

Almost all of the architectural sculpture employed within the church was appropriated from earlier sources of the imperial period and the variety suggests that more than one structure was involved, at least for the capitals. All but one of the capitals in the apse, and the jambs and lintels of the surviving apse doorways are in reuse (Fig. 159). The only piece which may at least chronologically have been carved specifically for the church is a pier capital from an apse window, bearing an image of an eagle and snakes, the style of which led Hill to a proposed date of the late 5th century (Fig. 160).[198] This does not however prove that this piece was constructed specifically for the church and a further curiosity of this capital is that it appears to comprise two separate pieces, sat on top of each other. The other surviving capitals from this church are all apparently earlier; Otto Feld dated the surviving pier cap at the end of the north arcade to around the 4th century.[199]

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[196] Dupont-Sommer and Robert 1964, 44.

[197] Heberdy and Wilhelm 1896, 25.

[198] Hill 1996, 104. Feld is less certain (1965, 141).

[199] Feld 1965.

This church is one of the few Cilician examples where it is possible to demonstrate that many of the standard masonry blocks are also in reuse, as evidenced by the drafted margins on several of the blocks. Perhaps significantly, blocks of this kind were used more extensively in the South Church (Fig. 164) probably demonstrating not only that the churches were constructed at around the same time, but also that they had shared a common source.

An excavation against the south end of the east wall outside the church reveals in the first instance the depth of sediments that have accumulated, with at least another 1.5-2 metres of previously extant wall now lying beneath the ground surface (Fig. 161).[200] It has also exposed a wall butting against the outer wall of the church and continuing about 3 metres to the east from the point where apse begins to project from the east wall of the church (Fig. 157). This wall is built entirely from the aforementioned dressed blocks but here again they are in reuse. It would appear to constitute the north wall of an extension to the south side chamber of the church, an assumption that may be ratified by the exposure of an eastern opening from the south side chamber at this point.

The notion that *all* the material for this church came from earlier structures is a difficult one to maintain. This is particularly the case with the mouldings, which are consistent with forms found on 5th and 6th century churches right across eastern Cilicia and northern Syria. These must have been at least reworked for the new church. The central situation of this church certainly suggests that it may have occupied the site of an earlier structure. Although it has never been suggested that this church might have been constructed from the remains of a temple, its situation and the substantial quantity of *spolia* incorporated into its walls make it worthy of further investigation in this respect.

South Church

The location of this church (Fig. 162), close to the wadi at the south end of the settlement is indicated as extra-mural on Bent's plan although no trace now survives of the city wall in this area (Fig. 155).[201] However recent erosion in the vicinity has revealed substantial flagging of a paved street running close to the church. This may be the remains of a second *decumanus*, seen by earlier travellers, running west-south-west from the vicinity of the theatre. This

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[200] Bell was also able to make this observation (Bell 1906a, 6).

[201] Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 294.

evidence must raise questions over Bent's positioning of the city wall.[202] The church was slightly smaller than the North Church, even though it was of the same plan (Fig. 163) and features a much larger quantity of the smooth quadratic masonry with drafted margins. The most distinctive characteristic of this church is the quantity of architectural *spolia* used in its construction, which is particularly visible in the apse, the best-preserved part of the church (Fig. 164). The most obvious pieces are the two outer capitals of the apse widows, parallels for which can be found in the Triumphal Arch at Anazarbus dated by Gough to the early 3rd century.[203] The two innermost capitals of the apse windows are of a different form. Another style of Corinthian capital, which lay in the collapsed nave of the church, was dated by Feld to the 3rd or 4th century.[204] Not only are the visible architectural fragments in reuse but elements are also incorporated within the core of the walls.

The most recent plan of this church appears to show projecting pilasters in the north-east and north-west corners (Fig. 163).[205] Feld pointed out that the generally poor condition of the church meant that it was too difficult too determine whether these features were repeated on the south-west or south-east corners.[206] Nevertheless, they bear a striking resemblance to the corner pilasters inherited from the surviving *antae* of the Clifftop Temple at the Corycian Cave, as reused in the subsequent church.

Concluding Remarks

Despite the quantity of *spolia* used in these churches the workmanship is actually far from shoddy and they are in fact extremely fine examples of eastern Cilician churches, executed in a style which was widespread in the late 5th and 6th centuries.[207] This is particularly evident in the slightly projecting apse with horizontal moulded stringcourses, although only the South Church has the continuous hood moulding over the apse windows found elsewhere.

Despite the stylistic similarities, the scale, form and execution of the churches at Castabala are very different to the grandeur and opulence of those in neighbouring Anazarbus. This is presumably a reflection of the increasing prosperity of the latter in late antiquity and the diminishing importance of Castabala. The execution is more akin to that of the church at

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[202] Dupont-Sommer and Robert 1964. 27; Feld 1986, 77.

[203] Gough 1952, 110-113.

[204] Feld 1965, 140, pl. 8a.

[205] Hellenkemper 1994, fig. 25.

[206] Feld 1986, 82.

[207] Feld 1986, 80; Bayliss 1997.

Flavias, where *spolia* is also widely incorporated particularly in the narthex: the last component of the church to be constructed.[208]

It appears that a single source probably provided a substantial proportion of the non-decorative blocks used to build both churches. This observation, along with the general similarity in form between the two churches, suggests that they were built around the same time. The source structure was an extremely fine monument of highly finished limestone quadratic masonry. It is not unreasonable to propose that the most likely substantial, well-executed structure, available for appropriation in the late 5th century was the Temple of Artemis Perasia. This hypothesis should be tested on the ground through a detailed investigation of the church in the context of other masonry surviving elsewhere on the site.

ANAZARBUS[209]

This metropolis survives as a sprawl of multi-period monuments around the foot of a steep crag that dominates the central Cilician plain. The remains of the lower city are fragmentary but legible to a degree (Fig. 165). Despite numerous churches, there are no temples recorded with certainty at the site, although the fragments of architectural *spolia* incorporated into the castle on the crags overlooking the city may have originated from a Temple of Zeus that had apparently occupied this elevated platform.[210] In addition Gough has suggested that the substantial architectural remains north of the city wall may indicate the former location of a temple and his argument will be studied below. It has also been suggested by several scholars that the unusual Church of the Holy Apostles in the centre of the city was converted from the remains of a temple located on the same site.

Church of the Apostles[211]

This huge ambulatory church was built in the heart of the ancient lower city, probably in the second half of the 5th century (Figs 167, 168).[212] The plan of the church is highly unexpected,

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[208] Bayliss 1997.

[209] Gough 1952; Hild, Hellenkemper et al. 1984, 198-201, figs 6-7; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 178-85; Hill 1996, 85-91, fig. 5; Bayliss 1997; Mietke 1999a; Years of visit: 1994; 1997.

[210] Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 181, fig. 95.

[211] Bell 1906a, 15-19, figs 9-16; Gough 1952, 116-118, figs 7-8; Deichmann 1975, 35-6, figs 9-11; Hild, Hellenkemper et al. 1984, 198, fig. 6; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 182, pls 63-4; Hellenkemper 1994, fig. 26; Hill 1996, 85-88, fig. 5; Bayliss 1997, 75-7, fig. 4; Mietke 1999a, figs 1-12.

[212] Mietke 1999a, 237.

with its open apse and large ambulatory recalling 4th century stadium basilicas of Rome, although a closer geographical and chronological parallel can be drawn with the similarly composed Cathedral at Miletos (Fig. 166).[213] The church itself has almost completely collapsed although much of the damage appears to be earthquake related. This is particularly apparent for the south facade, which collapsed inwards as a unit, enabling Gough (and later Mietke) to propose reconstructions of its original appearance (Fig. 169).

The church is situated on the north-west quadrant of a major crossroads in the city centre, leading Gough to suggest that this was the Cathedral of the Christian city. On the basis of this central location and the reused elements in the basilica fabric, it has also been argued that the church replaced an earlier structure of some kind.[214] Most of the construction material – orthostats, quadratic masonry and mouldings – would appear to be reused. Some elements bearing relief crosses – the continuous string moulding and the decorated angle-stones of the apse – may however simply have been reworked. Deichmann dated the reused frieze and entablature to no earlier that the 2nd half of the 2nd century and Gough points out that it is less well executed than similar work on the Triumphal Arch, perhaps suggesting a 3rd century date for the source structure.[215] The drafted margins on the quadratic masonry are not a feature of early Byzantine stonework in this region, so as with Castabala it is possible to assert the earlier origins of this material also. The presence of orthostat blocks, as found in other churches built from *spolia* in the region, such as those at Flavias and Castabala, is another indication that much of the material came from an earlier source.

Gough saw large foundations in a trench that had been dug in the area of the chancel and interpreted these as the remains of the temple.[216] However Mietke has observed a more recent robber-trench adjacent to the south wall of the church and has noted that the present ground level is at least 1.5m above the lowest courses of the church walls.[217] This implies that Gough probably saw the lower courses of the basilica and not the foundations of an earlier structure (Fig. 169).

If this church was indeed built on the site of a temple, then nothing from the pre-existing structure is now visible *in situ*. The possibility that earlier foundations or a podium form the

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[213] Bayliss 1997, 77; Mietke 1999a. A church of similar plan, but smaller in scale, is located at Akören in the Taurus foothills above the Cilician plain (Fig. 166). Miletos: Kleiner 1968.

[214] Hill 1996, 85.

[215] Gough 1952, 118; Deichmann 1975, 35.

[216] Hill 1996, 85.

[217] Mietke 1999a, 230.

lowest courses of this church can only be investigated intrusively. In the meantime it is fair to say that the combination of the location of the church and the nature of the *spolia*, is sufficient to suggest that a pre-existing temple is certainly a possibility but it is not as conclusive as has been implied.

A Decastyle Temple?[218]

Some 300 metres to the north of the circuit wall another wall encloses a substantial area of ground running from the north-west corner of the main circuit and butting against the cliff face (Fig. 170). This wall, now just standing a metre or so high, was built primarily from the remains of an elaborate Roman structure of massive proportions. It includes column shafts and capitals, architrave and frieze blocks of such a size that Gough could only draw comparison with the surviving remains of the Temple of Zeus Olbios at Diocaesarea. He proposed that the line of ten column plinths just within the circuit of this wall and running parallel to the main route into the city represented the original location of the source structure (Fig. 171). This evidence may therefore represent an episode of relatively rapid refortification where the remains of an available and proximate monument provided the most appropriate construction material, like the classic example of the Herulian Walls in Athens. The historical context for such activity in Cilicia is virtually impossible to identify, since this an area of such volatility from the 4th century onwards. It could have been response to the Persian or Arab threat in the 6th and 7th centuries, part of the Arab refortification of the city that appears to have occurred in the 9th century or might even have been as early as the Isaurian insurrection under Balbinus which is known to have affected Anazarbus in around 380.

Gough had further observations to make regarding the possible nature of the original structure. He noted that the surviving ten plinths might have formed the short side of a temple, which therefore must have been decastyle in form. A temple of such a size is unprecedented in this region but he points out that a decastyle frontage can be observed on a handful of Cilician coins from the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, including Anazarbene issues. He further makes a connection to a cave shrine situated in the cliff face some 300m east of the main route at the point where the plinths can be seen and argues that such a temple might well have been associated with sanctuary.[219] It would seem unusual though that these ten bases from a single side of a temple were the only surviving elements *in situ* and that no other trace survives to the east of this feature.

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[218] Gough 1952, 106-8; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 181.

[219] Bent 1890b, 232, 238 (no. 4).

SKETCH PLAN OF GOUGH'S "DECASTYLE TEMPLE"

Also the spacing of the plinths does not convincingly concur with the notion of a temple frontage. There are four in the centre of the line spaced consistently at around 4.5m (no measurements taken on site) and these are flanked either side by another three, spaced at around 1.5m. This is certainly an issue that requires further exploration, probably most appropriately with geophysics, but it seems more than likely that this was a single line of columns and not part of a peripteros. It is quite clear from the arrangement of the columns that this feature is more likely to have been an elaborate propyleum than a temple. Such a gateway may however still have had an association with the cave sanctuary, providing a monumentalisation of the principal approach route from the main road.

FLAVIAS (KADIRLI)[220]

While dramatically impressive sites like Anazarbus and Castabala present ideal opportunities for archaeological investigation because of the limited effects of modern habitation, other ancient cities of the Cilician Plain have fared less well. Along with Tarsus, Adana and elsewhere the Roman and Byzantine city beneath the modern town of Kadirli unfortunately falls into this category of lost sites. To Edwin Davis in the late 19th century the remains of the ancient city were still highly visible despite being rapidly exploited by the inhabitants of the flourishing market town. His brief description of the village paints a lucid picture of an agricultural community living in the fleshless bones of an ancient and once-great city;

> everywhere are columns, whole, or in fragments, pieces of white marble, architraves [...] wherever any excavation is made large hewn stones are found, even to the depth of 10 to 12 feet...the walls and courtyards of the houses are full of funereal inscriptions (much defaced), pedestals, sarcophagi (Davis 1879, 124-6).

Most of what he saw is now lost beneath modern, concrete Kadirli, with the exception of the mosque called the Alacami, which is the only structure of note to survive in the town today (Fig. 172).

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[220] Davis 1879, 124-6; Heberdy and Wilhelm 1896, 32f; Bell 1906a, 10-11; Bossert and Alkım 1947; Çambel 1984; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990; Hellenkemper 1994; Bayliss 1996, 1997, 1999b; Çambel 1997; Çambel, Bayliss et al. 1999.

The Alacami

Introduction

In 1993 I discovered unpublished field drawings of the Alacami in the archive of Michael and Mary Gough, now under the charge of Dr Stephen Hill at Warwick University. Mary Gough had produced a thorough survey of the standing remains when working with Professor Halet Çambel in 1949 and Stephen Hill published my redrawing of these plans in 1996.[221] This structure subsequently became the subject of my Master Degree Dissertation completed in 1996.[222] My initial observations on the site led me to conclude that the church had probably been constructed from the remains of a temple, largely on the basis of the *spolia*, particularly the orthostat blocks, incorporated into its fabric. In addition, the steps at the front of the church were considerably more weathered than other masonry on the site, which I took to be an indication of greater antiquity (Fig. 173). I had suspected therefore that these might have represented the steps of a temple podium that subsequently provided the platform for the new church. Finally commentators on the structure had recorded the existence of a precinct wall surrounding the church, which I also took to be of an earlier date and probably therefore associated with a temple.

In November 1997 I was invited by Professor Çambel to carry out a new survey of this complex site and to produce a detailed and contextual plan, supplemented by limited excavation in key areas.[223] To the Goughs' plan our small team was therefore able to add a south courtyard, the complete staircase to the west of the basilica, a passageway and hypogeum beneath the church and a topographical context (Fig. 174). The hypogeum was the most surprising discovery, prompting me to rethink my original interpretation of the reused material in the church.

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[221] Hill 1996, fig. 35.

[222] Bayliss 1996.

[223] Harun Kâya skilfully oversaw much of the on-site organisation and I am deeply indebted to his contribution. Ayşe Salman was responsible for some gruelling subterranean elevation drawings and we were cheerfully assisted by Çiğdem Girgin (İstanbul Archaeological Museums) who joined us on behalf of the Turkish Ministry of Culture. Our local workforce comprised Cumali Zaralı, Ahmet Gamalak and Ali Güven. This work was undertaken as part of the Karatepe excavations. Our thanks goes especially to Professor Çambel and all our friends at Karatepe who so kindly accommodated us, fed us, and freely imparted their advice and assistance at every opportunity. The Alacami project was generously supported in 1997 by the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, the University of Newcastle upon Tyne and the British Academy.

A broad historical framework for the site of the Alacami can now be deduced, which in general terms comprises four principal phases.[224]

1) A barrel-vaulted hypogeum was cut into a hillside overlooking the city in the Roman period, in a district that retained its function as a cemetery until recently (Fig. 175).

2) In the late 5th/early 6th century the site of the hypogeum was artificially terraced for the construction of a large church, built in at least two stages from a variety of reused architectural elements and in a style of construction typical of the region at this time (Figs 172, 177).

3) The arrangement of the site was modified in the medieval period, probably between the twelfth and the mid-thirteenth century when a small, but well-built chapel was tacked onto the apse, which re-employed the remains of the basilica as a compound wall (Fig. 176).

4) The well-preserved chapel was converted into a mosque in 1489/90 with the structural additions of a mihrab and a minaret.

The Hypogeum

The hypogeum almost certainly pre-dated the construction of the church. Where the passageway from the opening in the west steps butts against the hypogeum beneath the church a section of side wall has been robbed out, exposing the construction trenches of both structures. The passageway, like the basilica (as revealed in the apse excavations), features a narrow rubble-filled construction trench, whereas that of the hypogeum was filled with poured mortar. We can therefore deduce that the underground passageway was part of the overall design of the church. It's dimensions average 0.85 metres wide by 1.4-1.8 metres high and it slopes gradually from the west steps to the hypogeum over a distance of 14 metres (Figs 178, 180). It was lined on the flanking walls and ceiling by large blocks most of which appear to be in reuse while the floor was simply left as the hard natural clay.

From the level of the natural deposit, revealed by the partial collapse of the passage wall, it is also possible to deduce that the hypogeum was essentially a subterranean structure in its original context. The original access from ground level, probably in the form of descending steps, was completely removed when the passage was built.

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[224] Full details with project report, mosaics illustrations and computer visualisations are available on the Alacami website: http://museums.ncl.ac.uk/alacami/alacami.htm.

Architectural Reuse in the Church

The site of the tomb formed the focus for the construction of a three-aisled basilica sometime probably in the late 5th or early 6th century, which I have described in detail elsewhere.[225] An inspection of the construction materials used in the basilica reveals the characteristic irregularities in material size and the occasional use of ornamental elements and inscriptions that give the overall impression that it was constructed from the remains of earlier buildings. All the door jambs and lintels were probably in reuse and particularly noticeable is the huge lintel over the central door of the narthex, like those reused in similar positions at Brad and Qal'at Kalota in Northern Syria.[226] The exterior walls of the basilica are decorated with a base moulding, a hood moulding and a cornice (Fig. 179). Each keystone of the hood moulding is ornamented in relief with a cross-in-wreath, demonstrating that there was at least a degree of reworking for the construction of the church. A simple dentilated cornice is visible on all surviving walls of the basilica and is of a form that was very common in churches of the upper plain and in the foothills of the Taurus. While the base moulding is certainly a characteristic of this region, at the Alacami it shows significant variety in profile between different sub-phases: between the basilica, the slightly later narthex and the subsequent blocking of the narthex north door. Moreover the base moulding was far more common on Roman buildings and more amenable to reuse certainly than hood mouldings. It was found very often both above and below the orthostats of a temple or temple-tomb podium and the example at the Ala Kapı at nearby Comana is readily comparable.[227] Curiously the north side at least was designed with a double (in some parts triple) course of base moulding, the lower line being inverted to form a continuous flat plinth for the upper. The excessive reuse of the base moulding suggests that a bulk-load had been acquired from a single earlier structure.

The walls of the church are relatively narrow (0.6m) and comprise reused limestone bonding-blocks laid with very little mortar. The exterior face appears as smooth quadratic masonry while the interior is left rough and would originally have been rendered with plaster (Fig. 181). It is primarily from the interior then, that we can observe the presence of reused material in the fabric of the church. Although the likelihood is that all of the masonry was reused, the majority is plain ashlar. The exceptions are a couple of fragments of architectural moulding and a number of socketed blocks of the same size and form, scattered primarily

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[225] Bayliss 1997, 1999b.

[226] Butler 1920, 319, fig. 358, pl. 26; 1969, 53, 122-4; Callot 1997.

[227] Harper and Bayburtluoğlu 1968, 155-8.

throughout the south wall. I have not been able to decipher their original function but it seems highly likely that they came from a single source structure.

In the ornamentation of the south door of the church and the construction of the narthex, the criteria of reutilisation become more characteristically capricious. This is very apparent in the distinction between the fabric of the main body of the church and that of the narthex, despite the chronological gap between the two elements only probably being very slight. Although the narthex follows the decorative style of the main body of the church, with the implementation of the base moulding and cornice, the masonry itself includes a much greater variety of reused elements, in particular a row of low orthostats along the west front (Fig. 173). This evidence, in addition to the different style of base moulding employed, suggests that the original source structure was probably no longer available for the construction of the narthex.

Although a significant quantity of reused elements can be identified with certainty in this structure, all are implemented with great care paid to the overall appearance of the church. With the exception of a bilingual inscription found in the south wall,[228] none of the material within the walls would have been visible from either inside or outside the church. The reused material is displayed more overtly in the doorframes and jambs, but none of this is random. The south door for instance, mirroring that of the Church of the Apostle at Anazarbus, is composed as a typically elaborate imperial-period doorway, complete with ornamental flat relieving arch and volute consoles. Like the churches at Castabala and Anazarbus the *spolia* at the Alacami had two primary functions: to facilitate and to elaborate, i.e. to supply a convenient source of raw material for a new construction and to provide appropriate high quality exterior decoration befitting a church on the plain at this time.

Temple or Tomb?

The discovery of the hypogeum in 1997 forced me to reconsider the conclusion I had previously made that the Alacami had been converted from a temple. Its mere presence suggested that the church had been built not on the site of the temple but most probably on the site of a tomb. The fact that the site is an ancient cemetery would perhaps go some way towards confirming this. It is of course possible that the chamber was the undercroft of a much larger structure perhaps levelled at the time of the church construction, but this is mere speculation. The arrangement of the crypt and passageway bears a striking resemblance to the

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[228] Bossert and Alkım 1947, 19.

temple-tomb on the Greek island of Sikinos, which was converted into a church with cella and pronaos intact.[229]

The structural evidence from the passageway demonstrates that in all probability the west staircase was contemporary with the church and therefore could not have been the podium of an earlier temple. Nor is it possible to suppose that the precinct wall seen by early travellers was necessarily an inheritance from a temple, particularly in light of the conclusions I reached regarding the structures at Canbazlı and Meryemlik. The Alacami was also an extra-mural church, so the construction of a compound wall might better be seen as a means of providing some form of protection or at least as a way of demarcating the church grounds.

While the tomb argument is now pretty compelling we cannot yet completely rule out the notion that a temple once stood on this site. The subterranean barrel-vaulted chamber is not only a feature of funerary monuments but is also found in a number of surviving temples, for example the Temple of Zeus at Aezani and the temple at Khirbet edh-Dharih, both of which have survived by virtue of their conversion to churches.[230] In addition the ambiguity that this subterranean element lends to the interpretation of a structure, as either a temple or a tomb, is not unique to the Alacami.[231] Stripped of their upper stories such tombs would essentially be indistinguishable from temples.

In addition I have shown that there is a large number of blocks within the church walls that appear to have come from a single source. This surely represents too much material to have originated in a single tomb. Perhaps it was brought from several tombs, or even a single temple in the city or its hinterland. Notwithstanding the loss of the columns it would be quite straightforward to deconstruct the church and build a medium-sized temple-in-antis from its remains.[232] There is however only a single fragment of architrave visible, placed facing the core in the narthex. Unfortunately there is insufficient evidence to reach a definitive conclusion and although it now seems most likely that the Alacami was built on the site of a tomb, it is possible that the material for its construction came from elsewhere in the city.

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[229] Frantz, Thomson et al. 1969, esp. 414-8.

[230] Aezani: Naumann 1979. Khirbet: Villeneuve 1986.

[231] For example the "Temple of Clitumnus" at Spoleto, now thought to be a tomb (Deichmann 1943), and the Church of Sant'Urbano alla Caffarella outside Rome, built within a prostyle tetrastyle structure with a "crypt" that can be identified as neither tomb nor temple (Coates-Stephens 1997, 218).

[232] It is unclear which of the columns, bases and capitals littered around the site are actually from the church since the locked compound built around the Alacami has served as a repository for archaeological remains from all over the town.

CONCLUSION

The investigations undertaken in this chapter have shed new light on several well-known temple conversions and raised new questions about those for which the evidence is more circumspect. In this final section I will show how this archaeological study contributes to our broader understanding of the principal temple-church issues; chronology, mechanics, architectural reuse, logistics and motivations.

Initially though I will summarise the implications of my findings. Significant new observations have been made for most sites under discussion and in some I have presented new interpretations, as demonstrated in the following table:

Site	Previous Interpretation	New interpretation	Principal new aspects
Diocaesarea	Temple-Church	*Unchanged*	Roofing system
Seleucia	Temple-Church	*Unchanged*	Apse arrangement
Elaiussa-Sebaste	Temple-Chapel	Temple-Church (as Diocaesarea)	i) Cella remains ii) Intermediary church?
Corycian Cave			
i) Clifftop Temple	Temple-Church	Temple-*Spolia*-Church	Temple elements clarified
ii) Cave Church	(?Temple-)Church	*Unchanged*	Earlier structure identified
Kanytelis	Temple(r)-Church	Funerary Church	Temple existence questioned
Çatı Ören	Temple(r)-Church	Funerary Church	Temple existence questioned
Meryemlik	Temenos-Church	Fortified Church	Temple existence questioned
Canbazlı	Temenos-Church	Fortified Church	i) Temple existence questioned ii) Secondary narthex clarified
Dağ Pazarı Domed Church	Temenos-Church	*Unchanged*	
Olba	Temple-Church	*Spolia*-Church	Temple existence questioned
Epiphania	Temple-Church	Temple-*Spolia*-Church	Gough's church clarified
Castabala (x2)	(?Temple-)*Spolia*-Church	*Unchanged*	*Spolia* further clarified
Anazarbus			
i) Ch Apostles	(?Temple-)*Spolia*-Church	*Unchanged*	
ii) Decastyle Temple			Temple existence questioned
Flavias	(?Temple-)*Spolia*-Church	Spoliate Funerary Church	i) Funerary origins confirmed ii) *Spolia* investigation

Temple(r)-Church = church respecting the site of a temple.

Significantly, I began this study with six direct temple conversions but having investigated each fully, I have emerged with only three. The Clifftop Temple at the Corycian Cave has no temple material *in situ*, the church at Epiphania was too large to have been a direct conversion and it is far from certain that the church at Olba was built on a temple platform and from temple remains. Of the three temenos-churches (not including the Corycian Cave), the precinct walls of two have been reinterpreted as of late antique construction; in the case of Meryemlik and Canbazlı I have argued that their large precinct walls were not inherited from earlier pagan structures but were constructed in late antiquity in the interest of security.

One of the key themes to emerge from Hill's studies of Cilicia was the essential funerary emphasis of church architecture in the region, particularly in the form of the eastern passage, which channelled procession within the church to the rear of the apse where sacred objects could be venerated. It should perhaps not come as a surprise therefore to find that alternative explanations have been found for at least three supposed temple conversions (Flavias, Kanytelis and Çatı Ören), which probably involved the use or respect of tombs rather than temples.

It is of course inevitable that such a detailed reinvestigation of a group of buildings should result in a substantial degree of reinterpretation but the extent to which the temples have become effectively much less apparent it is perhaps surprising. The number of temples represented by this sample of churches has been reduced from fourteen to just seven: those which still survive at Diocaesarea, Seleucia, Elaiussa-Sebaste and the Corycian Cave and those whose presence can be attested by their survival as *spolia* (albeit inconclusively), at Epiphania, Castabala (probably one temple for two churches) and possibly Anazarbus (Ch. Apostles). There is no hidden agenda here. I did not set out to "lose" temples, but my review of the archaeological evidence has led me to propose that temples were not as significant to the fabric and situation of Cilician churches as has been apparent from previous studies.

The Chronology Conversion in Cilicia

Despite the quantity of standing remains in Cilicia, not a great deal of excavation has been undertaken and for this reason the chronology of early Christian architecture is either stylistically derived or resolved from historical interpretation (Fig. 183). The mid-5th century date for the conversion of the Temple at Seleucia is based on the assumption that the order of miracles in a hagiographical text is chronologically sequential. The late 5th or early 6th century date for the chapel in the temple-church at Elaiussa-Sebaste is based on the style of its mosaics. Dating through the use of well-studied architectural elements such as capitals is

somewhat more reliable.[233] Thus Otto Feld was able to date the conversion of the Clifftop Temple at the Corycian Cave to the 5th century based on a surviving pier capital. Capitals however rarely provide more specific dating and their use is further complicated in temple conversions, which by their nature contain many reused elements. Of the churches discussed here only the basilica conversion at Dağ Pazarı is dated by any means other than this. From the timeline it can be seen that this church was probably constructed before any of the others discussed here, which would seem to support the hypothesis that secular conversions usually predated the start of the most prolific period of temple conversion.

Archaeologists working on the four principal temple-conversions in the region (at Diocaesarea, Seleucia, Elaiussa-Sebaste and the Corycian Cave) have however significantly and seemingly independently provided dates of the mid-to-late 5th century for their conversions. Moreover these dates were all suggested from stylistic or historical evidence alone with no cross-reference to any contemporary legislation. Diocaesarea was dated to the second half of the 5th century on basis of the arrangement of choir and narthex.[234] Seleucia is believed to date from slightly earlier, based on details in the *Life and Miracles of St Thecla.* Gough's late 5th century date for the temple-church at Elaiussa-Sebaste is based on the mosaic in the chapel and the 5th century date for the temple-church at the Corycian Cave is given by a capital. As direct temple conversions, the dates for the first three concur with other examples already discussed, such as Aphrodisias. As a temple-*spolia*-church it is also reasonable that the Clifftop Temple at the Corycian Cave could have been converted earlier in the 5th century than the direct temple conversions, perhaps following a demolition episode in the later part of the previous century.

The *spolia*-churches of the Cilician Plain are all considered to be part of the same architectural milieu and therefore similarly dated. Their position in time is established by the widely accepted premise that they must have been built after the likes of Qal'at Sim'ān and Qalblauze, from which they seem to have extracted a number of diagnostic characteristics.[235] Most therefore appear to date from the late 5th or 6th century, although evidence from Akören, which provides the only three reliably dated churches in the eastern region, shows that elegant churches were still being constructed well into the late 6th century.[236]

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[233] Largely as a result of detailed studies such as Kautzsch's *Kapitellstudien* (1936).

[234] Hild, Hellenkemper et al. 1984, 244; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 240.

[235] Bayliss 1997; Mietke 1999a.

[236] Mietke 1995, 1996, 1999b; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, 168.

Establishing chronology is one of the key areas where excavation can excel in the study of temple conversion and yet at this point in time the province of Cilicia, which undoubtedly has rich potential, is unable to provide such information. Scholars have therefore turned to other means and tenuous connections have made between the date of a temple conversion and the quantity of *in situ* material preserved in its fabric. The assumption has been that those churches that preserve more material from the temple were converted earlier. This led Keil and Wilhelm to suggest an early date for the conversion of the Temple of Zeus at Diocaesarea.[237] It has also undoubtedly affected our interpretation of the temple-church at Elaiussa-Sebaste and by extension, suggestions for an early date for the conversion of the Clifftop Temple at the Corycian Cave. The early dates that Gough appeared to be attracted to must be viewed with caution, as we also saw at the temple-church at Epiphania which Gough believed was the earliest in Cilicia on the basis its the brick apse.

There is however some evidence in support of a revised version of this hypothesis: not that early conversions necessarily contained more material from a source structure, but that in later *spolia*-churches the source structure is generally less recognisable. So the 5th century church on the clifftop at the Corycian Cave still preserves the essential fabric of its predecessor. Like St Peter's basilica at Baalbek, it may represent a church built from the remains of a temple dismantled during the tense atmosphere of the late 4th or early 5th century. However, the cave chapel on the same site, probably dated to the 6th century, preserves only the footings of the structure it replaced. The evidence is however much clearer in the churches of the plain, which are clearly *spolia*-derived, but are built from the fragmentary remains of structures and not from individual identifiable monuments. By the late 5th century when this style appears to emerge, source structures might already have been heavily spoliated. But more significantly, the distinctive architectural style of these churches would actually have ruled out wholesale incorporation of earlier structures and favoured the piecemeal incorporation of elements such as mouldings and orthostats. Controlled and strategic use of *spolia*, like that found at the Corycian Cave does indeed seem to be a characteristic of an earlier period in church construction, with the later emergence of a more elaborate but standardised technique of architectural reuse.

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[237] Keil and Wilhelm 1931, 47.

The Mechanics of Direct Temple Conversions in Cilicia

There can be little doubt that at Seleucia and Diocaesarea, similar solutions were found for the conversion of a peripteral temple into a church (cf. Figs 84, 93). This can therefore be seen as a localised phenomenon, which takes on an even more impressive character if the conversion scenario can also be extended to Elaiussa-Sebaste (Fig. 99). Even if it is ultimately shown that the latter could not have taken the same form as the Seleucia and Diocaesarea conversions, it is clear that there was nevertheless a similar architectural vocabulary in operation, which allowed the survival of the peripteros at Sebaste through the blocking of its intercolumniations.

It appears that the Seleucia conversion preceded that of Diocaesarea and therefore also probably provided its influence. We cannot be sure whether this represents a developing architectural tradition or the patronage of an individual. Although both temples were of similar size and were peripteral there are still some significant physical differences between them. First of all, the Seleucia temple was built around a century later than its upland counterpart and was raised on a tall podium, which together with the staircase structure clearly dictated the proportions of the church. Perhaps more importantly, the Diocaesarea temple was hexastyle (6 x 12) while the Seleucia temple was octastyle (8 x 14), so there were more intercolumniations on the Seleucia temple and the columns were also more slender.

At the same time the columns of the Diocaesarea temple were originally much taller at nearly 13m including capitals. The figure given by Topçu for the equivalent measurement on Seleucia's temple is 10.58m, nearly 2½m shorter. This probably had implications for the superstructure of the converted temple. The height of 10.58m at Seleucia was therefore the height of the walls in the main body of the church, since the surviving column is situated at the west end of the south aisle. However, since the columns of the Diocaesarea church were cut down to around 8m, we can see that the side walls of the Seleucia church would have actually been around 2½m taller. Although both structures may well have been equipped with clerestories, the Diocaesarea church might in addition have been built with eastern and/or western towers. So even though the encasement of the columns within the walls would have given the two churches the same exterior texture, the actual physical appearance could therefore have been very different (cf. Figs 84, 93).

The only other church discussed herein that includes at least some immediately recognisable remains of a temple is the conversion on the clifftop site at the Corycian Cave, built within a preserved temenos and in part from its predecessor's remains. It is significantly the only

example of a temple conversion in Cilicia that employed the fabric (albeit not *in situ*) of a non-peripteral temple. Few small temples survive in southern Asia Minor, the notable exception in Cilicia being the Hermes temple at Çatı Ören. Such temples undoubtedly existed in Cilicia as elsewhere but here at least it seems that they were removed rather than being converted. This is perhaps – as the example at Çatı Ören shows – because in the Cilician architectural milieu they were not considered appropriate for conversion and perhaps moreover the architectural vocabulary for the conversion of these smaller temples was not evident in this region.

Perhaps the most significant structural aspect of the Corycian Cave conversion is the stark distinction between the original material of the temple and the more typical late antique *Kleinquaderwerk*. As there was not enough material from the temple to construct a whole church, the emphasis appears to have been on keeping the temple material together: it had been created as a unit in the original structure and this strength and integrity was maintained in the church. This is no pell-mell construction; it is simply the best way to incorporate the two very different styles of masonry forms, the ancient large quadratic blocks and the contemporary *Kleinquaderwerk* technique. It does however present a strong visual reminder of the temple in the new church, particularly with the re-fabrication of the *antae* pilasters at either end of the stretch of quadratic masonry.

It seems clear from this study of Cilician temple conversions, that the physical appearance of the directly converted temples did not influence subsequent *de novo* church construction. We do not find, for example, churches constructed in imitation of the temple conversions of Seleucia and Diocaesarea by introducing columns or pilasters into the exterior fabric. Nor do we find the introduction of towers to churches in imitation of what we may have found at Diocaesarea. Although these churches must have been highly distinctive, even attractive, they were clearly seen as anomalies, their design characteristics derived not from some architectural revelation but as a result of circumstance. In the following section I will argue that the situation appears to have been different in the plain and that the techniques of re-utilisation observed in the major cities were to provide a major influence on the architecture of their hinterlands.

Spolia and the Cilician Architectural Tradition

It has been observed that a distinctive style of construction can be observed at a group of twenty or so known churches in the Cilician Plain and the foothills of the Taurus mountains, that are architecturally distinct from their Rough Cilician, Syrian and Cappadocian neighbours.[238] These churches are variously dated from the late 5th century through to the late 6th century. They are recognisable by the following characteristics which each displays to a greater or lesser degree: a projecting apse, exterior mouldings, distinctive stonework, provision of large arched windows and lateral doorways, rarity (or secondary addition) of the narthex, and often featuring lateral courtyards and exterior porches. In terms of construction and external decoration this group is demonstrably akin to the remarkable Syrian archetypes of the late fifth century, typified by the churches at Qal'at Sim'ān and Qalblauze, but with a degree of local innovation.

The use of mouldings, cornices and in particular, large block-work is standard across the eastern region. These well-preserved churches are staggering in their fine execution, many on a par with the churches that are presumed to be their primary influence: those in the limestone massif of Northern Syria. The style of masonry was therefore another aspect of the great Syrian churches that was translated across to eastern Cilicia.

With the churches at Anazarbus, Flavias and Castabala we see the conspicuous implementation of reused material, but as a compliment to (not at the expense of) this tradition. Doorways were consistently equipped with elaborate jambs and lintels where possible. There is emphasis on an elaborate cornice: at Anazarbus this was in reuse, but at Flavias the simple modillioned effect is very similar to that found on the churches of the uplands, so may have not be in reuse, perhaps just reworked.

Significantly, this distinctive architectural tradition was not merely a characteristic of churches built in the late Roman cities, it was also found extensively in the villages of the uplands to the north, sites that are becoming increasingly known through recent investigations.[239] Church architects in the upland villages will not have had the same kind of immediate access to raw material through reuse as those on the plain and as a result we find that the majority of these churches were built from fresh-cut stone. This presents us with an opportunity to assess the impact of reused materials on architectural practice and tradition. By

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[238] Hild, Hellenkemper et al. 1984, 228, 273-4; Hellenkemper 1994, 228; Mietke 1999a; Bayliss 1997, 72-7.

[239] For example Akören (Mietke 1995, 1996, 1999b).

studying the rural churches we can examine this tradition in a more pure form, without the influence of reused orthostats, entablatures, cornices or mouldings.

The distinctive apse of the church at Kastalawn (Fig. 182) in the foothills of the Taurus Mountains above Anazarbus carries a base moulding, a slightly higher horizontal stringcourse, an identical continuous hood moulding and an elaborate dentilated cornice.[240] Its fabric bears all the signatures of the churches on the plain and it was probably built slightly later. Most interesting is the masonry block size, which is unusually large for the upland region, with the use of what would appear to be blocks the size of orthostats. Yet with no Roman-period settlements in the vicinity it is hard to imagine that the masonry was not quarried specifically for the church. However, its apse bears an uncanny resemblance to that of the Church of the Apostles at Anazarbus, a church built apparently almost entirely of *spolia*. The unusual plan of the Church of the Apostles is also found in the settlement at Akören, which lies nearer to the plain to the south-west of Kastalawn (Fig. 166). Here again, amongst the four churches on the site this one employs the largest blocks and is moreover dated by an inscription to 504. Both these churches are dwarfed by the Church of the Apostles. It is therefore possible that not only the form, but also the masonry size and style of these remote churches was influenced by the Church of the Apostles at Anazarbus. This would present direct evidence for the influence of *spolia* use on the form and composition of churches built *de novo*.

Finally we will look again at the churches on the plain. These represent a regional variation on the Syrian theme, which particularly emphasised the exterior decoration. Yet in the Syrian churches the distinctive character of the fine exteriors was not just a result of the mouldings, but also of the fabric of the walls, which approached Roman quadratic masonry standards in terms of size and quality. Most of these churches were essentially rural, so few featured extensive use of architectural *spolia*. Does this then perhaps explain why the Christian architects working in the Cilician Plain made such extensive use of finely dressed *spolia*? The churches of Corycos and elsewhere were also built in and around Roman cities but none show the level of sophisticated *spolia* implementation that we find on the plain. It is possible that this simply represents a larger quantity of available *spolia* in the cities of the plain. It may however reflect an interpretation of the Syrian architectural tradition of finely dressed large quadratic masonry, but deriving from an urban context where available material of this form proliferated.

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[240] Bayliss 1997.

It would seem therefore that the region as a whole was part of a broader landscape of influence and was driven by the same motions that were current in Northern Syria. Yet there are significant differences to show that the architects of the plain developed a style in their own right, some aspects of which emanated from the cities into the surrounding hinterlands. From the discussions set out here it seems possible that in the churches of the plain the use of readily available block-work, typically of a large size, from abandoned urban buildings allowed the emulation of the Syrian churches through the application of large and fine masonry, but without the need for quarrying. By extending this argument to incorporate the evidence from the uplands, it may even be possible to suggest that the use of *spolia* in influential structures like the Church of the Apostles at Anazarbus was then translated into the application of distinctive forms of block-work masonry in the uplands.

Although this model is admittedly diffusionist it must be remembered that the geographical area under consideration is relatively small. The principal distinction between the hypothesis set out here and accepted models of regional architecture is that my interpretation goes beyond the comparison simply of ground plans and is derived primarily from the comparison of the manner in which material was reused.

In contrast to the evidence from the plain, *de novo* churches of Rough Cilicia generally have plain exteriors, with the exception of the temple conversions at Diocaesarea and Seleucia, with their bold vertical banding formed by the surviving peripteroi. Given the general milieu of architectural elaboration already current in northern Syria it may be the case however, that the exterior texture of these bold new churches was perhaps not so much of a design shock as we might expect, particularly to the architects responsible. At Diocaesarea I have noted two possible scenarios for the reconstruction of the churches superstructure, on the basis of the surviving columns. It is perhaps significant that the favoured reconstruction bears its closest parallels to churches in Northern Syria, particularly with the evidence for corner towers (Fig. 84). As in the *spolia*-churches of the Cilician Plain we may therefore see the resonance of the Syrian architectural milieu finding its way into a conversion scenario.

The distinctive regional nature of building conversion in Cilicia is worthy of a final contextualising comment. All of the surviving direct temple conversions are within the metropolitan see of Seleucia where there clearly existed a policy of temple transformation in the later 5th century. By contrast in the cities of the plain, either the concept of direct temple conversion was not embraced or no temples survived long enough to allow their direct conversion. It might therefore be the case that the temples of the eastern Cilician cities were adversely affected by their proximity to Antioch and therefore suffered more in the turbulence

and religious instability of the region in late 4th century. The western Cilician cities by contrast were effectively more remote from centres of imperial and ecclesiastical jurisdiction; despite the fact that Seleucia provided the venue for an important church council in 359, bishops from Rough Cilicia rarely made appearances at the councils. If the dynamism and determination of the eastern authorities is contrasted with the less significant involvement of western Cilician bishops, we can see how the western temples might have survived, while the eastern ones fell to the fervour of the Antiochene Christians.

CHAPTER 7

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

In this final chapter I will provide a general overview of the principal arguments presented in this thesis and also draw the archaeological evidence from Cilicia into the broader debate. As part of this discussion I will focus on particular issues of temple conversion that archaeological studies can most appropriately elucidate and ask the following questions:

1. Were temple conversions architectural anomalies, or did they play a significant role in the development of early Christian architecture?
2. Were there regional trends of temple conversion?

Finally I will present an assessment of the methods of observation and interpretation by which archaeologists have identified temple conversions. This chapter is therefore intended as a methodological review and a statement of the potential of archaeological evidence for enhancing our understanding of temple conversion.

OVERVIEW

In this study I have identified three principal stages in the transformation of a temple into a church:

1. The deconsecration and purification of the site.
2. Temporary withdrawal from the site or introduction of abandonment-period primary functions.
3. Structural conversion.

Deconsecration itself could also have taken place in stages and was usually achieved by the removal or obscuration of statues and imagery and the performance of purification rituals. The efficacy of the deconsecration ritual could be secured through the use of crosses on visible masonry and particularly in places formerly occupied by pagan imagery. Some temples were destroyed as part of the purification process, but the degree of dismantlement resulting from this might not have been total and many temples could have subsequently been reused. Although there are several exceptions, in a general sense most temples would have passed through this stage during the 4th century.

The abandonment period was in most places a hiatus in the use of the site for cult activities. Some fiscal, commercial and social functions might have continued, but the temples were no longer the

cities' primary focal points and many of these activities would have gradually relocated to the increasingly commercialised colonnaded streets. If temples had become dilapidated, either through human agency or natural denudation, then they were more likely to become primary sources for building material during this period, than be restored. The real estate they occupied soon became as valuable as the stones they comprised, as churches began to invade the urban centres, occupying the temple lands and reusing available masonry for building materials.

Hence many churches built in the 4th and early 5th centuries reused the remains of temples that had not fared so well during this period and they also often occupied the same plots. Single-source temple-*spolia*-churches are most symptomatic of this period, as are the temenos-churches. At later times *spolia*-churches tended to contain more varied sources of building material: an indication that unmaintained temples and other buildings were more likely to have been appropriated in a piecemeal fashion in the intervening period. When single-source material was acquired for a new church however there is evidence to suggest that in some cases its transferral to the new structure was a systematic and carefully considered exercise.

On the other hand, a surviving temple might have adopted new and specifically less "pagan" functions. Usually these would have been transient and temporary activities and temples that survived as a result of the continued maintenance would either have fallen later, when their "secular" functions were no longer sustainable, or would have been converted into more permanent church buildings, thereby obliterating the evidence. Temples would have been secularised in this way not merely because of their convenience as standing structures, but also because in the 4th and early 5th centuries those who wished to preserve the buildings (including central government) saw this as the most effective means of achieving these ends. It has also been established in this study that from perhaps the early 5th century some temples might actually have been used as churches, but with little structural modification.

By the middle of the 5th century, church builders had begun to convert the remains of temples that had survived the preceding century intact. This chronology essentially conforms to the established legislative framework but we should exercise caution before applying such conclusions on a more general scale. The mid-5th century merely seems to present a *terminus post quem* for direct temple conversion, which is probably reflected more in Leo and Majorian's law of 458 than in Theodosius' notorious law of 435. Many famous examples occurred much later and this temple-conversion threshold was therefore reached in different places at different times and was facilitated through various means, both internally and externally derived. While conversion might have become a widespread response to temples from this time onwards, so few direct conversions survive that we cannot assume it was universally accepted, even in places where temples had survived. In the first instance it was necessary for the temple to remain intact for over a century after the first order was

passed to close all temples. The hindrances to this were not merely the fact that the temple, as a pagan structure, was inherently a target, but also the problem of maintaining a building that had lost its primary function. Thus we see direct temple conversions mainly in cities and villages that had sufficiently ingrained resources of traditionalism to preserve the temples through difficult times, such as Rome, Aphrodisias, Athens, Agrigento and Cilician Diocaesarea.

Temples exhibiting a great variety both in form and in state of preservation were converted directly into churches. This involved a degree of flexibility within the architectural scheme, but rarely was significant compromise of regional architectural traditions required. The temple conversion at Aphrodisias is without doubt the most ambitious and innovative surviving example (Fig. 51). The temple remains influenced many aspects of the church, but at the same time did not restrict the plans to build such a grand church. Others, such as the conversions of Diocaesarea and Seleucia, appear more controlled by the existing architectural composition of the surviving remains; the temple effectively dictated the form and scale of the ground plan (Figs 75, 87). The emphasis was on preserving and thereby reusing the surviving remains, as seen most dramatically at Qal'at Kalota in Northern Syria where two adjacent temples dictated the scale and positioning of the subsequent church (Figs 37, 38).[1] While temple conversions might often seem a little predictable in this sense, we can certainly introduce the notion of innovation (or at least imagination) with the system of peripteral column modifications devised for the roofing system of the temple-church at Diocaesarea (Fig. 84).

The Vocabulary of Temple Conversion

From the historical sources it seems that the very concept of building churches from the standing remains of temples was simply not even considered until at the earliest the beginning of the 5th century. Moreover, it was not with certainty implemented until much later in the same century. However we do know that a legal route existed from the early 5th century by which the Church could acquire temple estates for redevelopment. We have seen that some temples might have been used as churches prior to their structural conversion although temporary secular re-utilisations were probably more widespread. Any hesitation or hindrance to direct conversion was not through lack of an architectural vocabulary for this kind of building transformation, since there had already by this time existed a long tradition of converting many other kinds of buildings for such purposes, using the same kinds of accommodating and compromising techniques that would be required for converting temples. It is important therefore not to underestimate the impact of Christian codes of avoidance on our understanding of the hiatus between temple and church.

Nevertheless we can assert a wider scope of reasoning based on the broader context of church construction in the late antiquity, rather than simply on the specifics of the temple-conversion debate

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[1] Butler 1920, 319, fig. 358, pl. 26; 1969, 53, 122-4; Callot 1997.

itself. The early 5th century sees the beginning of an explosion in church construction that was to define the fundamental character of 5th and 6th century cities and provide the framework for their medieval development. Many new churches were built, particularly within the ancient city centres and importantly many 4th century churches were rebuilt, which is why so few survive today. We should therefore situate the emergence of the temple-church firmly within this context of widespread re-development. It is worth bearing in mind that although other structures had been converted to churches prior to the mid-5th century using similar techniques, nothing had been attempted on the scale of the Aphrodisias, Sagalassos or Ancyra conversions. Such conversions did not simply require the architectural know-how, they also required a substantial financial outlay. It is significant then that the Temple of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias was converted at a time when the city was enjoying an era of increased prosperity as demonstrated in a famous series of inscriptions.[2]

The architectural vocabulary of temple conversion was not necessarily a tradition in the diffusionist sense, i.e. we cannot trace its development across regions as we would for example attempt to do with the emergence of the domed basilica. The required techniques emerged from an understanding of the potential for building transformation forged in the previous centuries. Yet we have seen archaeologically that this vocabulary could have a regional dimension, whereby specific techniques for converting temples were employed in particular areas. In some regions these techniques were not employed at all. In others, such as Cilicia and Sicily, it is quite clear that connecting forces were at work, as we shall see below. Whether these connections were forged by the inspiration of a particular ecclesiastical official, a local building workshop or from other modes of influence, it is not possible to state.

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[2] Roueché 1989, 154.

TEMPLE CONVERSION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIAN ARCHITECTURE

Several important churches in the late antique world owed their fundamental composition, proportion and aesthetic to a pre-existing structure, such as the temple-churches of Aphrodisias and Seleucia. Design flexibility was the key to some of the greatest moments in the development of early Christian architecture and the ability and willingness to adapt the *genus* basilica form in order to take advantage of existing structures is moreover one of the greatest accomplishments of temple conversion.[3] Although I have argued that the mechanics of temple conversion was part of a much broader architectural milieu, it is nevertheless the case that nonconformity introduced into individual church designs as a result of architectural reuse, did not recognisably influence the long-term development of Christian architecture.[4] For example it is widely accepted that the south stoa of the Temple of Hadrian Olympios at Ephesus was a pivotal structure in the ecclesiastical architecture of the Aegean coastlines after its conversion into the church of the Virgin Mary in the late 5th century.[5] However it was the church plan itself that became important, not the stoa, and it should be noted that the stark longitudinality of this structure, which resulted from the conversion, was never repeated.

This is particularly apparent with the physical aesthetic of the transformed temple. For example, *de novo* churches are not built with engaged pilasters along the external facades in the regions of Rough Cilicia or Sicily. Nor did the cella conversions of peripteral temples, like those at Aezani and Ancyra result in an enthusiasm for encircling colonnaded porticos in new churches. In addition, the incorporation of a temple peripteros within the Church of St Michael at Aphrodisias did not result in the abandonment of the archivolt and a renaissance in the use of trabeated arcades within churches. Using a chronologically extreme example we can show that the overriding influence on the form of most temple conversions was the current architectural milieu of church construction: the converted heroön on Sikinos is built in the style of its time – as a domed church – in the 17th century.[6]

To those that would argue that there would be no reason to attempt to emulate these structural by-products I would point to our own fascination in domestic architecture with functionless mock-Tudor

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[3] Milojevič's argument that temple conversions were normally "complex and fraught exercises" is not generally borne out in the archaeology (1996, 254), since no temple conversion was actually more structurally complex than the construction of a new church.

[4] One possible exception is noted by Vaes (1986, 340-1; 1990, 31), who suggested that some of the particularities of church construction in North Africa, Spain and Gaul are derived from "Christian experiments in existing temples".

[5] Krautheimer 1986, 106-110.

[6] Dawkins 1911-12; Frantz, Thomson et al. 1969. There was an earlier, probably 7th century church in this structure.

or imitation quoining, which in a late medieval context, were aesthetic by-products of contemporary structural technologies. We must however accept that these features of temple-churches were not adopted more widely because they were generally considered to be unusual but acceptable consequences of structural conversion alone. There is no reason why such structures could not have been admired though: Helen Saradi clearly demonstrated that appreciation of classical art and form was still widespread in late antiquity, even amongst Christians.[7]

Our assessment of the chronology of temple conversions perhaps provides a context for this interpretation. By the middle of the 5th century – the period of temple conversion – Christian architecture had become much more stabilised and less experimental in the provinces than it had been in the century preceding the commencement of temple conversion. By this time particular forms of basilica had emerged for specific functions and any diversity was usually regionally derived. Although innovative churches were built in the provinces they tended to follow these local developments, for example triconch apses in Lycia and domed basilicas in Cilicia.

Direct building conversion, of any type, therefore appears to have created a series of largely unrepeatable architectural anomalies and the most influential structures of the period were all churches built anew, not the converted temples.[8] Certainly, the method of actual conversion could on occasion be copied, particularly on a local level as we shall see below, but it appears that the nonconformity, which often resulted from the conversions, never became in any sense mainstream. Since this regionality in church architecture was well established by the temple-conversion period we should therefore rather ask whether the temple-churches themselves show regional variation, which may correlate to the established pattern of *de novo* church construction.

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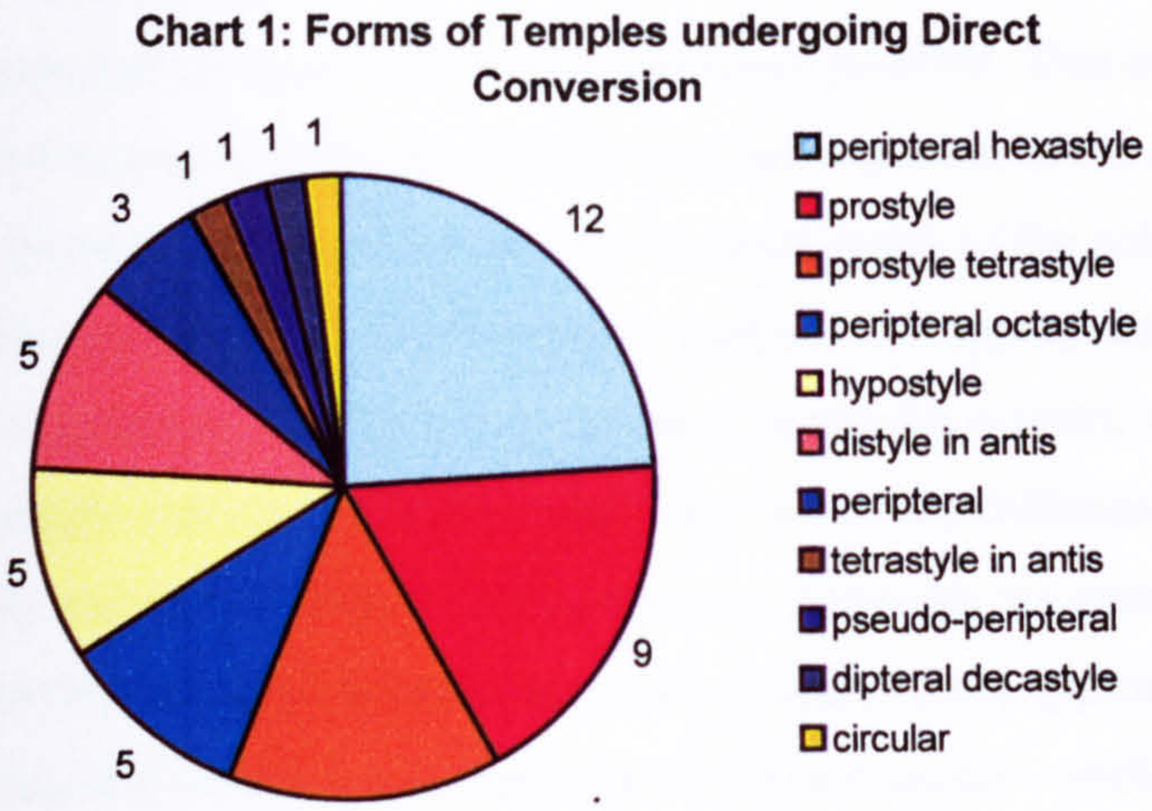
[7] Saradi-Mendelovici 1990

[8] This does not preclude the arguments made by scholars attributing the development of particular styles of regional architecture to precursor temple designs (Butler 1906; Butler 1923; Deichmann 1964).

REGIONALITY IN CONVERSION SCENARIOS: CILICIA, SICILY AND BEYOND

In this thesis I have argued the notion of an architectural vocabulary for the conversion of particular forms of buildings into churches: a set of techniques that appear to have been followed as a kind of architectural tradition. Like any such trend this was subject to regional variation, derived from established traditions, available materials and resources.[9]



Thus regional factors influenced the final outcome of the transformation on two levels: in the original template provided by the pre-existing building (see Chart 1) and in its final composition as a church. Variations in the original template arose primarily from the conversion of regionally distinct forms of temple design, for example the courtyard or hypostyle temples of Egypt.[10] There was however a great deal of standardisation in temple architecture in the Greek and Roman periods, which has enabled more general empire-wide observations to be made in this work. So we can see from the graph that the predominance of prostyle (reds in the graph) and peripteral (blues in the graph) temples in the Graeco-Roman world is reflected in the proportions of these different temple forms undergoing conversion.

Hence, although the basic scenarios of the conversion we observed in Chapter 3 are widely followed, variations predictably occur depending not only on the form of the temple, but also on other factors, such as its orientation. Even temples of a similar form in proximate localities were not always converted in the same way. For the almost identically composed courtyard temples of Thurburbo Majus, Sufetula (Sbeitla) and Jebel Oust in Africa Byzacium, similar conversion scenarios were adopted, but with significant variation to demonstrate lack of a rigorous universal template (Fig. 60-2).[11] Yet this very particular form of conversion, whereby the church was positioned transversely

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[9] Finney argued in a review article that the three essential practical considerations for the planning and design of ancient places of worship, were "the availability of land and its character, the availability of construction materials, and the force of indigenous design traditions." (Finney 1988, 320-1).

[10] Vaes 1986, 347-8.

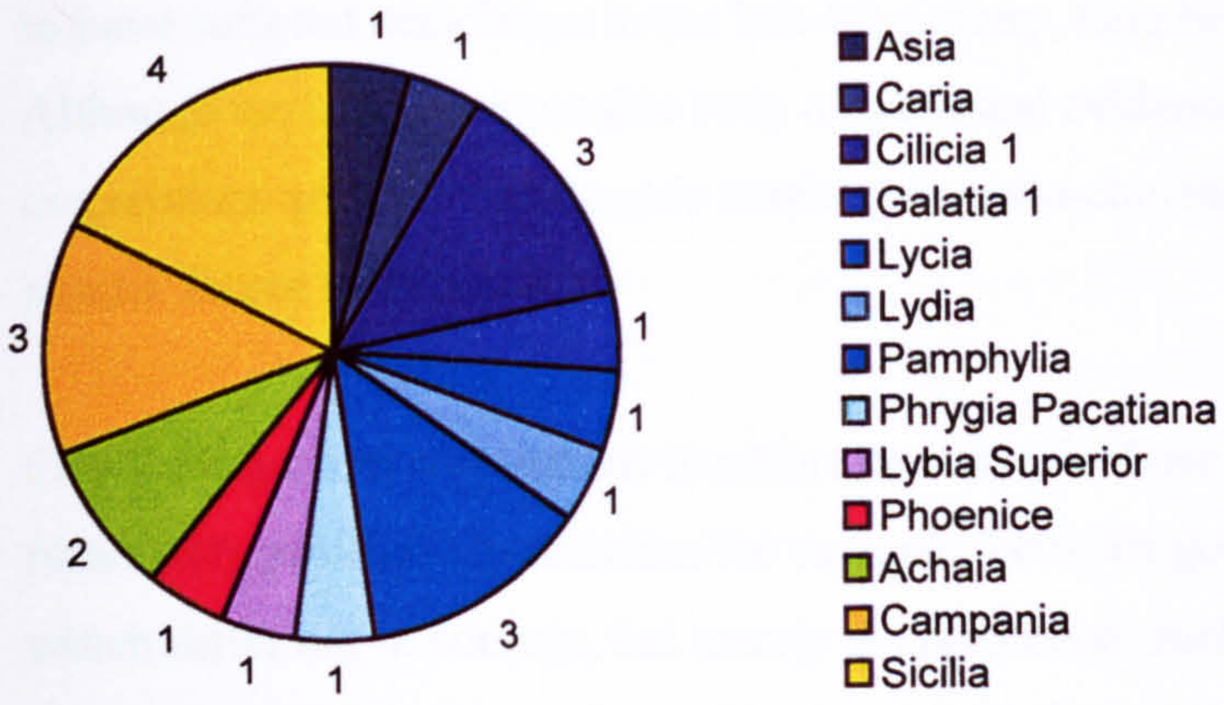
[11] Duval 1973.

across the temple forecourt was sufficiently influential that in the conversion of the "New Temple" further to the west at Tipasa, exactly the same procedure was followed, even though the form of the temple was significantly different to those of Africa Byzacium (Fig. 63). In Cilicia a distinct style of peripteral temple conversion is evidenced twice, if not three times in the vicinity of Seleucia. It appears that this form might have involved the removal of the cella rather than its preservation as the aisle divides, as is found in otherwise very similar conversions in Sicily at Syracuse and Pachino (see below, p. 231). Moreover this technique appears to have been limited to these regions: why for example were the peripteral temples of Aezani and Ancyra not converted in the same way?

Irrespective of the type of temple converted, local Christian architectural and liturgical traditions were maintained in the conversion whenever possible. This could have been a consideration at Aphrodisias for example, perhaps necessitating the extension of the colonnade and requiring considerable amounts of additional construction. The re-positioning of the columns from the short sides of the peripteros to the east of the nave colonnades created more appropriate proportions for a mid-5th-century basilica in Asia Minor. Had this project been Constantinopolitan, where in the 5th century the squat church predominated, the result might have been very different. Our most vivid example is however provided by the temple-church at Diocaesarea. Although the ground plan of this church was defined precisely by the extant peripteros, the columns themselves appear to have been modified in height in order to accommodate a particular style of superstructure – probably deriving from Syria – of raising towers over the corner chambers of a basilica.

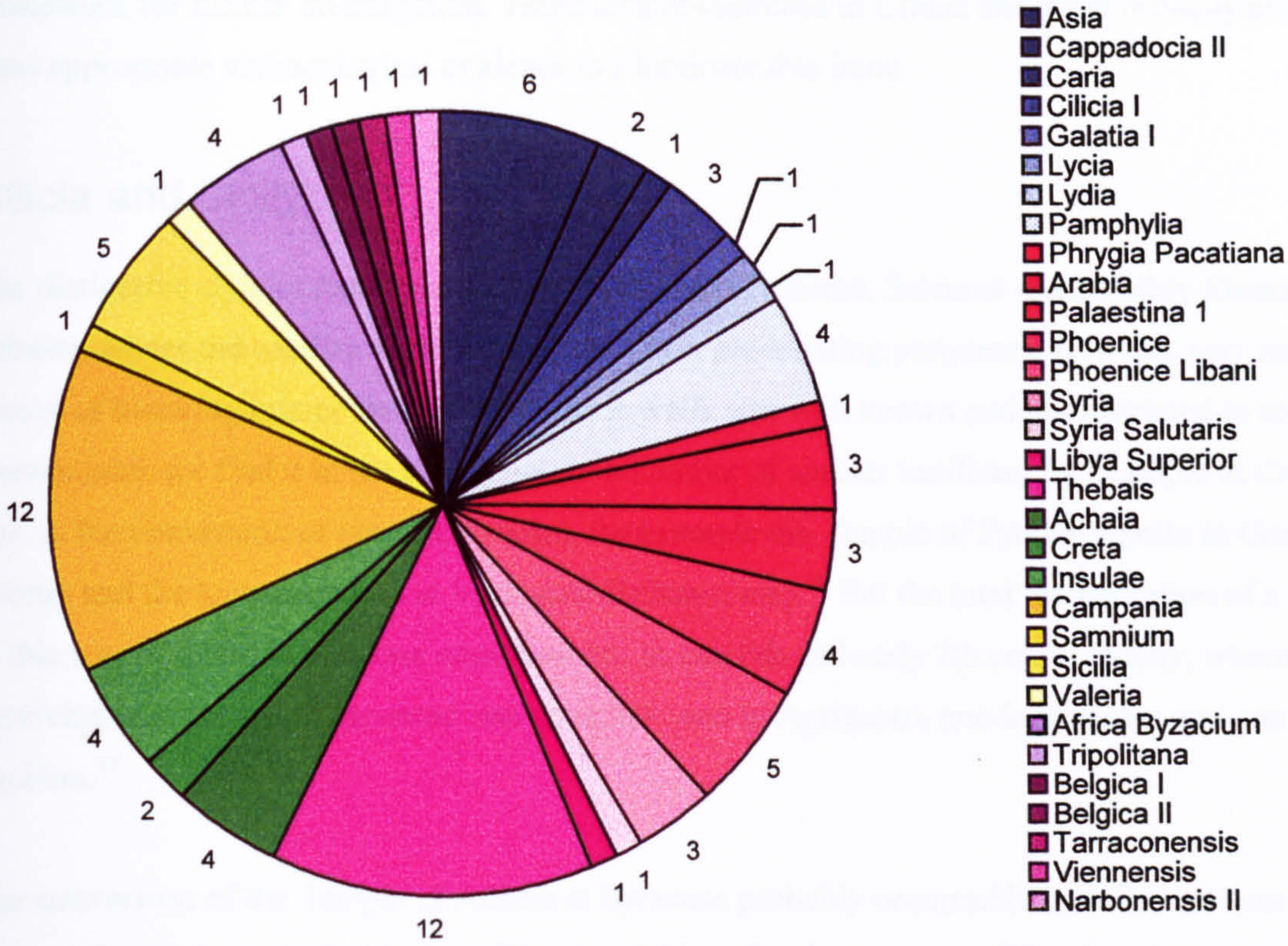
How far is it possible then to detect regional trends in the conversion scenarios implemented? And to what extent did converted temples influence subsequent conversions? Although there is obviously great variety in the forms of temple conversions between different regions and cities, a hint of regional characterisation is apparent. For example, Anatolia hosts over 50% of the known conversions of peripteral temples (see Chart 2). Is this a conversion trend or just a result of the large quantity of peripteral temples in its provinces?[12]

Chart 2:
Peripteral Temple Conversions by Region



[12] Consideration for a 5-10% negative-weighting on the proportions for the Anatolian provinces must be given, in view of the fact that my research has focussed primarily on this region.

Chart 3: Direct Temple Conversion by Region



One of the problems with this issue is that we know that direct temple conversion itself was neither universally nor consistently practiced (see Chart 3). This is primarily attested by the large quantity of churches built all over the Mediterranean that contain the remnants of pagan temples in their fabric. In Illyricum, few direct temple conversions are known, yet churches are very often found built from temple remains or amongst their ruins.[13] When churches were built on the remains of temples after a long period of abandonment, they predictably tended to contain less elements of the original structure within the rebuild. This pattern is particularly evident in Northern Syria, where many temples appear to have suffered demolition in the late 4th century, long before the temple-conversion period.[14] Although we lack a comparable body of historical evidence for eastern Cilicia, the absence of direct conversions and the considerable number of *spolia*-churches in the cities of the plain, suggests that similar forces were at work.

Can some general correlations therefore be made, in those provinces where temple conversion was reasonably prolific? Correlations for example, between geographically proximate temple-churches which differ not in concept, but merely in application, such as those of Aphrodisias and Sagalassos, or the North African courtyard temple-conversions. Can we also observe the relatively common practice of cella-conversion in Asia Minor as something of a regional trend, largely absent from the south coast? In practice, the small quantity of temple-churches across the provinces hinders too much local

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[13] Spieser 1976.

[14] Lassus 1947, 247-8.

correlation of this kind, although it is hoped that the evidence presented here at least sets out the framework for further investigation. Three temple-churches in Cilicia and three in Sicily provide the most appropriate archaeological evidence to illuminate this issue.

Cilicia and Sicily

The distinctive style of temple conversion seen at Diocaesarea, Seleucia and possibly Elaiussa-Sebaste, where the basilica walls were formed by a pre-existing peripteros, is in fact very rare.[15] The notion of blocking intercolumniations to form walls was well known and not restricted to temple conversions: we find it in the conversion of a number of secular basilicas, for example at Cremna and also in the conversion of prostyle temples, for example the Temple of Pythian Apollo in Gortyn (Crete) and the temple-church at Vastogirardi (Samnium).[16] But the total incorporation of a peripteros in this way is found in only one other context: in late 6th and early 7th century Sicily, where three surviving temples were converted into churches: one in Agrigento, one in Syracuse and one in Pachino.[17]

The conversion of the Temple of Athena at Syracuse probably occurred before the resultant church became the city's Cathedral in 640. (Fig. 44). Although subsequent modifications have masked much of the original development, it appears remarkably similar in principal to the conversion at Seleucia, with the intercolumniations blocked and the side walls raised to the height of the peripteros columns. Around the same time the so-called "Temple of Concord" in Agrigento was converted, although here the modifications were less encompassing (Fig. 45). The church essentially only occupied the pronaos of the temple although the eastern half of the peripteros was walled-up to provide flanking chambers. Like both Diocaesarea and Seleucia though, the peripteral columns of both these temples were chamfered to receive the blocking walls and they also bear sockets for a connecting framework, although at Agrigento these appear to have been arched openings rather than tie-beams or window sills.[18]

The conversion scenario at the Church of S. Lorenzo Vecchio near Pachino is less clear, as the former existence of a peripteros can only be inferred from sockets in the outer wall of the partially surviving cella, showing at least that the converted temple was probably equipped with side aisles. In addition to the blocked periptera, a characteristic of all three Sicilian churches appears to have been the incorporation of the temple *cellae* as aisle divides by gouging openings through the sidewalls to simulate arcading. This is clearly in contrast with the Cilician scenarios where the *cellae* appear to

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[15] Scholars in the past have typically talked about this form too generally, e.g. Mortimer Wheeler (1962).

[16] Cremna: Mitchell 1995, 220-2, fig. 5. Gortyn: Sanders 1982, 79, 108. Vastogirardi: Vaes 1986, 332.

[17] Agrigento: Trizzino 1980, 1988. Syracuse: Guido 1958, 36-43. Pachino: Agnello 1948.

[18] Trizzino 1980.

have been removed and the material used in the blocking of the intercolumniations. Trizzino's research has however demonstrated that the openings in the cella of the temple at Agrigento were actually associated with the baroque redevelopment of the structure and had not existed in the original conversion.[19] This must therefore raise questions over the interpretation of this technique in the Syracuse and Pachino conversions, neither of which have been studied to the same level of detail. While the situation with the *cellae* modifications is unclear, enough similarities remain to suggest that the temple conversions in this part of Sicily, like the earlier Cilician examples, were created within a distinctive architectural milieu and adhered to clearly comprehended principals of architectural adaptation.

With these Cilician and Sicilian temple-churches we have two very distinctive and similar conversion scenarios, separated perhaps by over a century, but with each group occurring probably over a relatively short period of time. There is certainly no notion that the techniques have "developed", at least not within the groups. This evidence perhaps points to the sporadic and regional nature of temple conversion, i.e. once the notion of temple conversion had been incorporated into the local architectural milieu, whether by an architect or a prominent patron, the transformation of surviving temples was precipitated. So the conversion of the temple at Diocaesarea probably followed that of Seleucia and the conversion of the Temple of Athena in Syracuse was influenced by the conversion of the Temple of Concord at Agrigento. We can turn finally to Syria where an analogous situation can be observed. As already mentioned, few temple conversions were undertaken in this region, but we do know of two examples, which are attested by inscriptions. The sites in question are Zorava and Busr el-Hariri, which are located within *only* 10km of each other.

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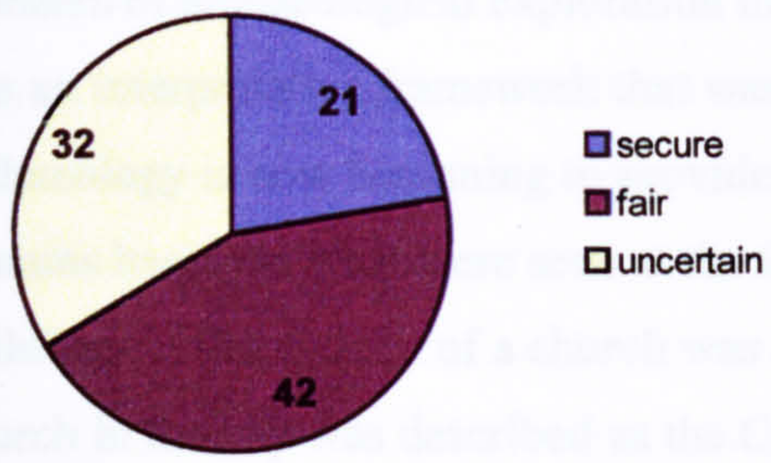
[19] Trizzino 1980, 1988.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL IDENTIFICATION OF TEMPLE CONVERSIONS

One of the most unexpected but revealing aspects of this study has been the emerging critique of archaeological interpretation. This was noted particularly in the detailed Cilician study, where I demonstrated our ability as archaeologists to oversimplify the history of a building by drawing global conclusions from cursory observations. Archaeologists, ultimately influenced I suspect by the established historical framework, have also tended to take their interpretations of structural remains much further than was realistically viable, with a cumulative effect towards misinterpretation, particularly on the chronology of the churches. As the adjacent chart shows (Chart 4), very few temples conversions can actually be considered as securely dated to within a quarter of a century.

Chart 4: Dating Integrity Proportions of Temple Conversions



In the emotive realm of religious transformation and conflict, "seeing the temple-church" has often been the most immediate means of reaching a definitive conclusion on a given structure. This should in particular, lead us question Milojevič's figure of 300 temple conversions in the Mediterranean region.[20] In this final section of the conclusion I will discuss the archaeological methodologies by which churches have been identified as temple conversions.

The most profound influence on the identification of these structures in the Near East has been that of the early travel writers and archaeologists of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Much of their work has not been subject to rigorous re-assessment and many assumptions have found themselves becoming fact, not only in local tradition, but also in academic publications. We can see this vividly with regard to the Corycian Cave, where a sign still proudly and yet erroneously points to the wall of the Temple of Zeus Olbios, as it was thought to be until the mid-1960s. Also on the same site Theodore Bent was able to claim that the small cave-church replaced a temple, merely on the basis of its prominent location.[21] Only over a century later, in this work, has an archaeologist actually been able to provide any sort of corroborative evidence for this theory. Yet we learn a valuable lesson from the Clifftop Temple at the Corycian Cave: material in a building that somehow stands out from the rest

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[20] Milojevič 1997, 347.

[21] Bent 1890a, 447.

of the structure as either better executed or of a larger scale, does not necessarily represent the *in situ* remains of a temple. An almost exact parallel can be found in the precursor buildings of the Great Mosque at Hama (Fig. 65).[22] Here, Creswell interpreted the surviving east wall of the church as being directly inherited from a temple, based on a qualitative comparison with the other surviving church walls. However the temple cella implied by Creswell's hypothesis would have been enormous and the so-called temple wall also contains numerous inexplicable curiosities. In addition, just like the Clifftop Temple at the Corycian Cave, its height was increased through the addition of several courses of *Kleinquaderwerk*. This wall may well have been built from the remains of a temple, but it is unlikely that what survives is the original wall itself.

In Asia Minor and Anatolia particularly, we are still heavily influenced by the interpretations of the pioneers of archaeological exploration in the region, a fact we should be constantly aware of. Theirs was an interpretative framework that was restricted by a lack of the broader picture that the archaeology is now beginning to provide. Hence there was a good deal of pigeonholing of surface remains based on what were seen at the time as diagnostic features. For example any cluster of buildings in the vicinity of a church was considered to be a monastic establishment, the biggest known church in the city was described as the Cathedral, and any high-status residential buildings in the vicinity of this church would be labelled as the bishop's palace.[23] Only now are archaeologists beginning to question these interpretations, some of which have even been formed much more recently.

Also archaeologists are now able (and more willing) to call on archaeological dating techniques, which allow us to question the shopping-basket approach to the integration of archaeological and historical evidence. For example, until recent excavations proved otherwise, the date for the conversion of the Temple of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias was assumed to have taken place in the middle of the 5th century.[24] Why? Because the emperor Theodosius – a man well known for his adherence to the faith – visited the city in 443. It was also assumed that the Church of the Virgin Mary in Ephesus must have been built before the Council of 443, since it was subsequently known as the Church of the Council. Excavation has now shown that its foundations were not laid until at least a half-century later. The Council venue remains a mystery.[25]

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[22] Creswell 1959.

[23] For Ramsay's suggestion of a monastic establishment on these grounds at Pisidian Antioch see Mitchell 1998. See also Hill 1994 on the archaeological identification of monastic sites. For the dispute over the location of the bishop's palace at Aphrodisias see Campbell 1996.

[24] Erim 1986, 56-7.

[25] Karwiese 1995.

In many ways the historical record of late antiquity in the East has shackled archaeological interpretation and it is a problem that still continues. Evidence of building damage is tied to a well-established earthquake chronology, unless the structure is a temple in which case the blame might be laid with the Christians. Evidence of apparent pagan building activities in the 4th century (e.g. the re-erection of statues or the repair of a temple) is all-too-often attributed to the years 361-363: the reign of Julian.[26] Evidence of destruction and fire damage on temple sites is more readily attributed to Christian aggression than to any other possible factors.[27] My criticism is not intended as an attempt to suffocate archaeological interpretation and reduce archaeologists to mere reporters, but at the same time archaeology must help us to create a richer, more diverse picture, and not simply to increase the volume of material ascribing to an existing framework.

Encouraging a more open-minded, yet archaeologically testified approach to interpretation is vital to our understanding of late antique urbanism. A critical diagnosis of the function of a building, based on recognisable characteristics is just part of the process. With direct temple conversions, where a significant proportion of the material from the temple survives we can usually be reasonably certain of the nature of the pre-existing structure and the Christian re-development. However, in addition to the mistaken identities of the Alacami at Kadirli, the "Temple of Clitumnus" at Spoleto and the tomb-church on the island of Sikinos, other exceptions do exist. For example Christern re-interpreted the conversion of the Temple of Jupiter(?) at Cumae – previously regarded like the Aphrodisias conversion as a peripteral temple enclosed within a vast basilica – as a pseudo-peripteral temple and courtyard with a series of later Christian modifications, including perhaps a small church within the cella (Fig. 57).[28] Perhaps the most significant example of a wrongly interpreted pre-existing structure is the case of the Church of the Virgin Mary at Ephesus. Clive Foss' book on late antique Ephesus was one of the first site-based studies in English to rely heavily on archaeological evidence to illuminate a post-Roman city in Asia Minor.[29] His account of the market basilica converted into a great, elongated church became the classic archaeological exemplar of urban transformation in the late antique East. His work still remains the most accessible publication in English on the site. Yet the Austrian excavations have since demonstrated that the church was in fact built within the remains of stoa belonging to a temenos of the vast Temple of Hadrian Olympios, which occupied a large, previously unexcavated area in the lower city.[30]

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[26] See especially Travlos 1971 (pp. 128 & 444) for speculatory Julianic dates given to the restoration of the stoa of the Asklepeion and the repairs to the Parthenon (Frantz 1979). See also above (Chapter 2).

[27] In particular see Goodchild on Cyrene (1971, 107) and Spieser on Corinth (1976, 312).

[28] Christern 1996-7.

[29] Foss 1979.

[30] Karwiese 1995.

Identifying a temenos-church is generally more problematic than identifying a temple-church, unless parts of the original temple remained on the site, as at Baalbek. The church at Canbazlı is a case in point. We know that this basilica was equipped with a precinct wall which many consider to be of ancient origin by virtue of its large block size. Yet there is no other evidence of a pre-existing temple on this site and I have shown that in the Cilician examples at least we must consider the possibility that some of these precinct walls were actually constructed specifically in order to protect *de novo* churches, as they were also in Syria.

The source monuments for temple-*spolia*-churches are usually the most difficult to discern. Often nothing remains *in situ* from the preceding structure and material may have been required from a variety of locations for the construction of the church. Archaeologists have long been attracted to these monuments, initially in attempts to reconstruct the Greek and Roman buildings that provided the original material. Careful studies have been carried out, for example at Sagalassos, where the so-called Basilica E1 was shown to comprise the remains of at least three earlier structures, including two temples. At the Corycian Cave, Feld and Weber were able to virtually reconstruct the Clifftop Temple, even though the church from which it was constructed contained none of its remains *in situ*.[31]

The fragmentary remains of temples have been identified in churches by a number of diagnostic features. Smooth quadratic masonry in early Byzantine monuments is (perhaps falsely) often labelled as reused, but although this style of construction was undoubtedly more common in the Roman period than the late Roman, it was not in itself restricted to temple architecture.[32] The presence of orthostat blocks can also be an indicator as at the Corycian Cave, but the lessons learnt from my study of the Alacami show that these could also derive from other kinds of structures, particularly monumental tombs.[33] Ornamental architraves appear to have been some of the first elements to be robbed from a temple. These are occasionally employed in churches either simply as wall fabric or if a larger collection is available they were often used as the cornice and/or base-moulding blocks of the church, for example at Basilica E1 at Sagalassos and at Qal'at Kalota in Northern Syria. Column drums and capitals appear less often in the walls of 4th and 5th century churches, largely because in this period of continued building activity, columns were still extremely valuable as structural supports and so were generally re-employed as such.[34] Even with the smaller types of temple though, the column orders were generally larger than those normally used in an average basilica. One option would be to re-

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[31] Vandeput 1993; Feld and Weber 1967.

[32] See Butler 1907 (p. 67) for a detailed description of the types of masonry used in the Roman and Byzantine monuments of Southern Syria.

[33] As might yet prove to be the case with the cemetery basilica (Church A) at Cyaneae in Lycia (Kupke 1991, 213; Kolb, Kupke et al. 1991, 577-9).

[34] On remote sites where opportunities for reuse were limited, we might expect to find columns reused in church walls more often, for example at Kefr Nabo in Northern Syria, a church thought to be built partly from the remains of a temple (Butler 1920, 293-5). The diameter of these columns (1.1 – 1.3m) precluded their use in the aisle divides.

employ only the upper (more slender) portions of the columns, although at Qal'at Kalota (Fig. 37) we see an unusual mix of thick temple columns (d. 0.9m) and more slender new columns (d. 0.62m).[35]

Such was the geometry and conformity of Roman architectural design that one could completely dismantle a temple down to its individual elements and rebuild it as some other piece of urban paraphernalia: a stoa, tomb or nymphaeum for example. Looking at it from the other angle, it is therefore only in exceptional circumstances that it becomes possible to definitively deduce the nature of a source structure from its remains (often partial) preserved in a church. If a combination of quadratic masonry, architraves and perhaps reused columns are found in the construction of a church, the source structure is usually assumed to be a temple.[36] However, only where sculptural or epigraphic elements are incorporated, as at Sagalassos, has it been possible to convincingly deduce the sources.

It is unfortunate at this stage, that we have little material culture available from temple conversion contexts to allow more detailed analyses to be undertaken. Extensive field walking in Greece for example has enabled the identification of sanctuary sites not just from their topographical context or the all-too-ambiguous scatters of column drums or dressed blocks, but from the discovery of particular types of pottery and votive plaques and figurines.[37] The context is different from the present study, but the point remains that material culture of this kind, within a 4th or 5th century ritual context could be tremendously revealing, but at present it is simply lacking. We can interpret and re-interpret the sprawling body of historical evidence that, in one way or another, relates to the conversion of temples into churches. The corresponding body of archaeological evidence is miniscule by comparison, yet it enables us to precisely address the issues over which the texts remain confusing and ambiguous. The archaeology of a building is a document of its place in a local history. By looking beyond the eclectic perspective provided by the legislation and the subjective narratives of the Church Fathers, hagiographers and pagan apologists, we see clearly that the archaeology of individual sites and the extended observation of patterning across regions can provide us with a deeper understanding of the complexity and variability of temple conversion as it occurred in individual urban contexts. This has enabled the formulation of a more coherent picture of the significance and situation of temple conversion in the cultural and physical transformation of the late antique city.

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[35] Butler 1920, 319-22.

[36] For example in the case of il-Habbat, near Hama in Syria (Butler 1920, 8-9).

[37] Alcock 1994, 250-3.

APPENDIX 1

THE THEODOSIAN LAW CODES AND THE DEMISE OF THE TEMPLES

Presented here is a critique of the use of Theodosian Law Codes for the comprehension of the demise of the temples. The Code is the principal historical source, particularly amongst archaeologists, for the study of the Christianisation of the built environment, and has been widely appropriated in the investigation of many other aspects of late antique urbanism. The great importance of this source is matched by the potential for its misinterpretation and misuse. Yet the Code only presents legislation up to the compilation date of 438 and the historical record of late antiquity shows that the Code's editors omitted a substantial degree of earlier legislation. The most comprehensive overview of all the laws passed in this period was presented by Joannou (1972), who detailed chronologically all the laws against paganism appearing both in the Code and other sources, between 311 and 476.

Composition

Imperial legislation in the century after Constantine is generally held accountable for the virtual eradication of public pagan worship from society and the subsequent abandonment, destruction, dereliction or conversion of the vast majority of temples. Much of this legislation is preserved in the Theodosian Law Code, promulgated and validated throughout the empire in 438 and essentially comprising a compendium of thematically organised legislation dating from the reign of Constantine to the date of promulgation.[1] This codification contains at least sixty-six laws targeted at heretics of all forms. Most are to be found in Book XVI, 'De Fide Catholica', which provides for the first time a formal prescription of an accepted moral code of behaviour for Catholic Christians. The laws fall into three general loosely related categories: laws to encourage conversion, laws to define and punish the activities of pagans, apostates, heretics and Jews, and laws concerned with problems of implementing laws, that is, with the conversion of the aristocracy and the administration system. Most importantly it details the cult activities that the emperor and Catholic Church considered to be unsuitable in the Christian world.

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[1] Pharr 1952; Harries and Wood 1993; Mango 1980, 94; Harries 1999; Trombley 1995a, I. 1-97; the Code was officially promulgated on 25 December 438 to the Senate of Rome (Pharr 1952, 3-7, "Minutes of the Senate of the City of Rome").

Title 10 of Book XVI, 'De paganis, sacrificiis et templis'[2] is a reconstitution of 25 laws against pagans, their practices and their sacred sites passed between 321 and 438: over a century of action by the Christian state aimed at the disestablishment of pagan cults. Title 10 clarifies the social traits of a pagan; continuing involvement in sacrifice, visiting temples and the reverence of idols. This was arguably the principal mechanism by which those who still clung to their old beliefs could be made aware of error, their activities being branded as socially unacceptable, as *superstitio*.[3] For some the social pressure was a sure enough incentive for conversion, and others would be persuaded by punishments against their worldly goods, or even their life itself.[4]

Each law was dated and underwritten by the current emperor(s) and addressed to a particular individual within the administrative system, usually a Praetorian Prefect, but occasionally to a provincial governor or urban prefect. Thus in their original form, the laws were enacted to resolve the religious issues of a particular region, province or individual city and there were restrictions imposed upon the enforcement of these laws outside of their designated areas.[5] The Code can therefore best be seen as a "compendium of imperial responses to stimuli which were largely external".[6]

Some imperial responses took the form of rescripts (*rescripta*), which clarified the legal position for a specific case only.[7] If enquiries necessitated new legislation these will have been issued as general laws (*leges generales*),[8] to be implemented widely (as either *orationes or edicta*), and so dispatched directly, usually to a Praetorian Prefect, as *epistulae*.[9] His duty it seems was to oversee the distribution of the law amongst the governors, who significantly were also seen as the most pliable point in the system.[10] New laws were distributed to the relevant cities and made public by announcement and by posting in a public place. Thus all potential perpetrators and the civil magistrates themselves were expected to be well aware of their legal position with regard to any activity. Yet it is this urban level of the system that remains mostly dimmed to our understanding of the policing of such activities by civic officials and Christian informants.

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[2] *Cod. Theod.* XVI 10.

[3] Salzman 1993; Hunt 1993, 145ff.

[4] Macmullen 1997, 72 lists the full range of threatened punishments as "fines, confiscation of property, exile, imprisonment, flogging, torture, beheading, and crucifixion".

[5] *Cod. Theod.* XVI 10, 3 is addressed to the Prefect of the City (Rome), *Cod. Theod.* XVI 10, 8 to the Duke of Osrhoene (probably referring to the temple in Edessa) and *Cod. Theod.* XVI 10, 15 to the Vicar of Spain and the Vicar of the Five Provinces (southern Gaul?). *Cod. Theod.* I 2, 11 forbade the employment of rescripts for any case other than that for which it was originally issued; see also Cod. Just. I 14, 2.

[6] Harries and Wood 1993, 5-16.

[7] For example *Cod. Theod.* XVI 10, 1

[8] See Matthews 1993, 25ff.

[9] While many laws were conceived in this way others were a result of initiative within the administrative bureaucracy of the court itself.

[10] For example Cod. Theod. XVI 10, 24.

The system as we see it was essentially simplistic and response reflexive: *relationes* and *suggestiones* provided the impetus and information for legislation, yet all that survives is the response, not the original issue. Although many laws were undoubtedly conceived within the administrative bureaucracy of the court itself, the legislative agenda as a whole was not the fanciful whim of a distant emperor, but policy driven responses to the real issues of late antique life.

Interpretation

In its re-enactment of legislation since Constantine, the Code appears to present a problem of interpretation for those charged with the dispensation of the law. For example, penalties for sacrifice varied from a few pounds of gold to summary execution. Since the latest laws on a particular issue were supposed to take precedence[11] one wonders why some of the 4th century examples were included at all, given that many had been superseded.[12] With regard to urban temples they could either be preserved as public monuments (XVI 10, 15) or demolished and replaced with the sign of the cross (XVI 10, 25). Even more bizarre, Book XVI contains a law originally issued in 382 ordering the preservation of the Great Temple at Edessa, which was destroyed shortly after, but nearly half a century before the promulgation of the Code. Not only does this speak volumes on the efficacy of the legislation to protect the temples but also must make us question our understanding of the reasoning behind the compilation, when such clearly defunct legislation could achieve general promulgation. In a sense what this betrays is that the Theodosian Law Code presents almost a collection of legal posterity rather than an efficient and effective source of reference by which to rule. Trombley's assertion that the codification of the laws was intended to "systematize a struggle which many urban bishops and rural monks had waged against the pagans of their communities for many decades" is perhaps overoptimistic in this light.[13]

The codification of the official stance on law was born out of a dire need for conformity in the late Roman law courts.[14] Yet before the codification of the law in 438 the official legal stance on matters of pagan cult activities cannot have been clear in all places at all times. This complexity gave great scope to potential corruption, forgery of rescripts, falsified appeals and costly judicial delays.[15] It seems that the emperor could not even rely on his highest officers if Libanius' accusations about

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[11] Matthews 1993, 22-3.

[12] The emperor acknowledges this in *Cod. Theod.* I 1, 5. The earlier laws may be seen to have had some significance in dealing with the wide variety of possible pagan offences and also provided a source of reference to the prestigious origin of certain policies to justify, as it were, their ancestry.

[13] Trombley 1995a, I. 1.

[14] Harris 1993, 1-2, n. 2-3; Cod. Theod. IX 30, 1; Amm. Marc. 30.4.2.

[15] See Amm. Marc. 28.6.5-30 for an example of a failed attempt to bypass corrupt links in the system.

Maternus Cynegius were correct.[16] The governors needed to keep abreast of recent developments in imperial opinion on all matters of law, in particular those for which the Imperial stance was rather more fluid, as with the issue of the pagan cults.

As a background to the laws against pagan cults this pliancy in the legal system must have undermined its efficacy to a degree that tempers any further interpolation from the edicts in their original enactment i.e. prior to 438. Arcadius ordered the preservation of the temples of Africa in 399 and the destruction of those of Gaza in 402.[17] His apparent indecision on his stance merely reflects different responses to different situations. Therefore to perceive the dates given in the original enactments of the laws as historically relevant on any broad scale is largely unjustifiable.

Efficacy

The question of how and whether the laws were actually enforced in the cities depended on the disposition of an enormous variety of elements within the system.[18] At the highest level the emperor, Praetorian Prefect or governor could intercede but the responsibility for long-term enforcement had to lie with the *curiales*. There are a variety of problems that become apparent with this system, particularly with regard to the temples, since many civic officials derived their wealth from temple estates and their prestige from civic religious ceremonies.[19] It was the denial of these possibilities from the 4th century that lead to the propensity of church building in the 4th and 5th centuries as an outward expression of civic pride in metamorphosis.

In 423 Theodosius II issued a statement of his confidence in the success of formerly promulgated constitutions against pagans, "although We now believe there to be none". It was perhaps the law of 407, co-signed by himself that he believed had been most effective, although it seems likely that he was misinformed of the actual situation by a close advisor of traditionalist tendencies who sought to tame the emperor's hard line against the pagans.[20] Theodosius' misinformation becomes clear in later

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[16] He argued that the Praetorian Prefect of Oriens had misled the emperor into believing that the Great Temple of Edessa was rife with idolatry and therefore warranted destruction (Libanius, *Or.* XXX. 46-7).

[17] Although he appears to have been tricked into conceding to the latter (*Vita Porphyrii*, 41-51; Holum 1982, 54-6).

[18] For a general overview of the practicalities and efficacy of the late antique legal system see Kelly 1998 and Macmullen 1997, pp. 20-2, 45. There are plenty of occasions where it is possible to show though archaeological evidence that various aspects of the law codes were often ineffective. One of the least cited is the Theodosian law of 427, abolishing the uses of crosses in floor mosaics (Cod. Just. I. 8. 1). Numerous instances where investigations have shown that this law was widely disregarded are detailed by Taylor 1993, pp. 239-42.

[19] Brown 1961; Lane Fox 1988, 76-7.

[20] Holum 1982, 124-6. Theodosius, as emperor is hardly likely to have been aware of how people were actually worshipping in the provinces, or even outside the walls of his own palace. He, like all others, had to rely for the most part on the information that was given to him by third parties, normally his advisors. Kenneth Holum has demonstrated that under the Theodosian dynasty in particular, the Imperial personality is rarely reflected in legislation,

legislation, historical sources and archaeology. We know from discoveries at Aphrodisias that pagans and philosophers were still very much in evidence in the 5th century, and living in some luxury. The discovery of overt pagan statuary and marble altars in a house in the heart of the city from this period gives a very different impression from that presented by the law codes, of pagans worshipping in secrecy and constant fear of the governor and bishop.[21]

The repetition of laws against sacrifice is usually interpreted as indicative of the general failure of the enforcement system,[22] but it also reflects the tenacity especially of officials to find loopholes in the legislation.[23] It is perhaps for this reason that the laws of the late 4th century become increasingly verbose and all encompassing. However we must not lose sight of the fact that the reiteration of important policies was a common periodic occurrence, particularly on the ascension of a new emperor, usually as a statement and reminder of their predecessor's legislation.[24]

The momentum with which the pagan practices and monuments were dismantled varied between cities, making generalisations difficult to assert. It is not simply the case that enforcement was universally lax.[25] It is apparent though that the disorganisation and corruption within the administrative system delayed – to varying extents between cities – the application of any legislation, particularly that of the anti-pagan variety. Perhaps most importantly, Joan Taylor reminds us that "paganism was a multiplication of varied and flexible belief systems with stubborn roots that could not be pulled down with one tug".[26] It seems likely that the emergence of Christian extremists within the cities was one consequence of this. It is unclear though from the historical sources just how widespread this pagan lawlessness actually was. Nor is it possible to suggest with conviction that the severity of the punishment infers that the laws were regularly broken,[27] but merely that committing such crimes was considered comparable to murder and high treason.

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which seems to more exactly follow the lives and careers of those who surrounded the emperors, the consorts and the advisors (Holum 1982).

[21] Smith 1990; Campbell 1996; Macmullen 1997, 23.

[22] Jones 1973, 938.

[23] Harris (1993, 15) suggests that the repetition of laws need not be indicative of the inefficacy of the system, but instead reflects confirmations of pertinent issues by inaugural emperors, clarification of popular requests, or reiteration of a law at different times in East and West. However increasing frustration (or even disbelief) that accompanies the repeated legislation against sacrifice would indicate that in terms of Book 16 this moderating interpretation does not apply (*Const. Sirm.* 12).

[24] For example *Cod. Theod.* XVI 10, 2 (in 341 AD after the death of Constantine), Cod. Theod. XVI 10, 13 (in 395 AD after the death of Theodosius). Cod. Theod. XVI 5, 63, issued to the proconsul of Africa after the ascension of Valentinian III in the west, makes clear the policies of the new government with the assurance that pagans, heretics and "*all false doctrines inimical to the Catholic faith*" would suffer persecution.

[25] Jones 1973, 938.

[26] Prag 1996.

[27] Trombley 1995a, I. 2.

We have seen how a date given for an individual law cannot be relied on to provide a ubiquitous *terminus post quem* for the archaeological evidence or as an accurate reflection of the prevailing religious climate in the empire as a whole at the time of enactment. After 438 the picture is clearer, but still murky, given the apparent contradictions within the re-enacted legislation. In addition there was an array of potential hindrances to the enforcement of the laws, the results of which we have witnessed repeatedly in this work, revealed by both the archaeological and historical sources. The true value of the law codes in the context of Christianisation is merely as indicators of fluctuating governmental attitudes, aspirations and ongoing issues.

The problems with the source illustrated here show how difficult it is to understand which laws could have had any wide-ranging implication prior to 438 and make it potentially more difficult to compose a sequence of Christianisation that works on an empire-wide level. To complicate matters many laws were subsequently also officiated in other regions, usually as duplicates and therefore may well have been omitted by the editors of the Code, or never traced. Even the general laws were often not in fact valid throughout the empire, but merely in the prefecture, diocese or province of the recipient.[28] With this potential for omission and distortion, we can clearly only begin to fully appreciate the implications of this legislation on an empire-wide level on the date of its enactment as law for the whole empire, in AD 438. All laws not included in the Code itself were subsequently invalid, so from this point the omissions no longer matter. Theoretically this enables us to contemplate the legal status of temples and pagans at this point alone. It is unfortunate that one of the most complex and unknown periods of social change in the history of the Mediterranean was the early 4th century until the middle of the 5th century.

Temples and the Citizen Group

While centrally administered legislation gives a picture of the progressive eradication of pagan practice from the cities, the implementation of the laws lay firmly with administration on a more local level. In the cities themselves the conversion of the citizen group was by necessity a gradual process particularly in more remote regions.[29] Constantine's approach was one of enticement: to make the adoption of Christianity beneficial to members of the pagan citizen group.[30] In the later part of the 4th century there were clearly a significant number of pagan sympathisers and crypto-pagans still in positions of power, in all levels of the administrative system, including positions close to the

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[28] cf. *Cod. Theod.* VI 23.2. and VI 23.4. for examples of laws repeated in the East and West (Harries and Wood 1993, 6, n. 14). Rome and Constantinople were also often naturally treated independently.

[29] Brown 1961; Chuvin 1990, 91-100.

[30] Lane Fox 1988, 17.

emperor.[31] Eunapius for example tells us that pagan altars were restored to the metropolis of Sardis in the late 4th century, presumably facilitated by the pagan governor of Lydia and the vicar of Asia in office who were at that time pagans.[32]

It was of course an inevitable result of the hard-line legislation of Theodosius and his sons that many pagans would at least nominally convert, while others would harden their resolve.[33] A succession of laws issued between 391 and 415 illustrates the process by which such pagan officials were gradually removed from authority, although it has been argued convincingly that only the last of these was issued on any widespread level and to any great effect.[34] The survival of paganism in the citizen group constituted a severe setback to the implementation of the Law Codes and the supplication of the emperor's will. The anti-pagan legislation of the late 4th century was clearly only as effective as those who were assigned to its enforcement.[35] Yet despite the legislation it is difficult to imagine that the emperor would order a purge of the group employed to enact his will throughout the empire.[36] Even by the 6th century, pagans can still be found in prominent positions of office both locally and in the imperial bureaucracy.[37]

It is amongst the citizen group that paganism, or at least traditionalism longest dwelled and if a conflict is to be sought in the pagan to Christian transition, it can be found in the relationship between the urban elite and the bishops or Holy Men.[38] The counterparts of Porphyrius, bishop of Gaza were specifically the members of the urban elite. They thwarted the Church's efforts to spread Christianity through the city and its *territorium* by their "control of the urban magistracies and their large funds of manpower in the cities".[39] It was clearly the influential, tax-paying elite of Gaza who were also able to influence Arcadius in his decision not to allow the destruction of the Marneion to proceed, a resolution that he was later persuaded to overturn.[40] It seems very likely that one result of this problem was that there could be a significant time lag between the enactment of a law and its implementation against the pagan public and their monuments. This is hardly unexpected; it was a policy that "sought to undermine the whole foundation of the Roman Empire and the aesthetic landscape".[41]

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[31] For example Themistius Chuvin 1990, 37-8.

[32] *Eunapius, Soph.* XXIII, 2, 7-8, quoted in Foss 1976 (pp. 28, 116).

[33] On the conversion of the aristocracy see Brown 1961 and more recently Trombley 1995a (pp. 168-81).

[34] *Cod. Theod.* XVI 5, 42; XVI 10, 11; XVI 10. 21; Holum 1982, p. 100, n. 95.

[35] Macmullen 1984, 95.

[36] Brown 1995, 42.

[37] Trombley 1995a; Macmullen 1997, 22-3; Frantz 1965, 192-3.

[38] Jones 1963.

[39] Trombley 1995a, I. 2.

[40] *Vita Porphyrii*, 51; Geanakoplos 1966, 180.

[41] Fowden 1978, 53.

Conclusion

> Behind the Code was a world of social fluidity and diversity, of tradition interacting with change and of complexities which could not be encompassed by "general" rules. The contents of the Code provide details from the canvas but are an unreliable guide, in isolation, to the character of the picture as a whole (Harries and Wood 1993, 95).

On a somewhat superficial level, the Theodosian Code provides a framework of significant events in the Christianisation process. Yet caution in its widespread application as a chronological framework must be observed when we consider the motivations of its authors and requirements of its intended audience. Sirks points out that the Theodosian Code was a legal document and not an historical work and as such we cannot expect to be able to use it as one, at least not as freely as many scholars have dared.[42] Its omissions and incongruities should come as no surprise to us, and certainly should not provoke either criticism or any sweeping general reflections on morality in the late antique world.

The Theodosian Code is merely an eclectic collection of legislation from the reign of Constantine to its compilation 438 and we know little about the criteria that were employed in the editing process.[43] Certainly all laws bearing the weight of imperial edicts or general laws were supposed to be included, which should give us an accurate overall impression of the official attitude at a particular time. Imperial rescripts were rarely included.[44] A noticeable trend in the entirety of the Theodosian Code is the weighting, in terms of the quantity of laws, towards the later period. While we can postulate that in terms of Book XVI this reflects an increase in legislation against pagans from the later 4th century, it must be realised that some earlier, relevant laws may not have been included in the codification.[45]

The Code presents us with a series of enticing thresholds with regard to the fate of the temples. Throughout this thesis I have tried to assess how these may be reflected in the archaeological and historical records. Although I have shown that in a very broad sense the chronology of temple destruction and conversion is reflected in the progression of legislation in the Code, the detailed surveys of the material remains have demonstrated that this monolithic perspective is open to a great deal of variability on a local level.

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[42] Sirks 1993. Others have also recently questioned our use of the Code for undertanding late antique society, for example Lepelley (1992).

[43] Cod. Theod. I 1, 5. As an indication of this it has been observed that the Justinianic Code contained some 240 laws from Constantine to Theodosius II that had not appeared in the 438 codification (Corcoran 1993, 106).

[44] Neither were interlocutions; minor rulings made during the course of a case (Matthews 1993, 26-7).

[45] Sirks (1993, 63-4) argues against the possibility that older laws were more difficult to track down, suggesting that they might well have been effectively superseded by later laws and therefore omitted from the Code. This is however in contradiction to compilation instructions of the Code (I, 1, 5). Although it is acknowledged that it would be more straightforward simply to omit the obsolete laws, their inclusion was required to make the work complete.

APPENDIX 2

THE DATABASE OF TEMPLE CONVERSION

Archaeological, historical and epigraphical evidence from nearly 450 churches on some 250 individual sites, have been incorporated into a highly detailed database, providing a platform for information management and for the analysis of trends in architectural reuse in church construction. This includes over 250 structures for which the influence of a pre-existing temple has been detected, with the rest of the number being made up by churches built incorporating the remains of other structures. This appendix briefly describes the structure and content of the database and also includes two principal reports.

Database Structure

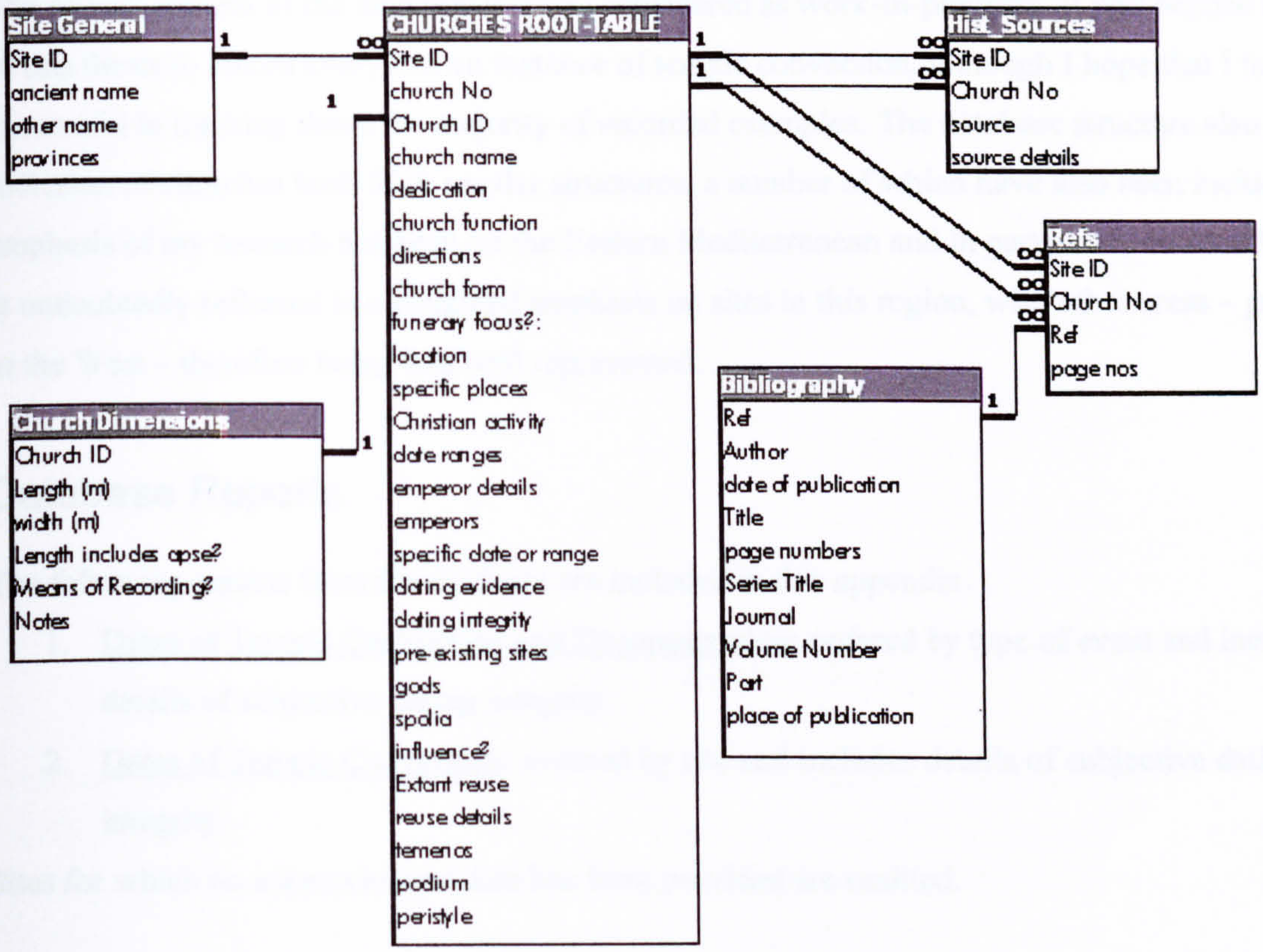
This is a relational database, allowing multiple entries to be made for individual sites (see relationships diagram below). The parent table in the hierarchy (*Site General*) contains the site name and the name of the province within which the site is situated. This has a one-to-many relationship with the table that forms the core of this database (*Churches Root-Table*), which contains the majority of the data for individual churches. The bibliographic tables have one-to-many relationships with the *Churches Root-Table*, as one source could refer to many churches.

The data in *Churches Root-Table* is divided into specific themes within the principal data entry forms as follows:

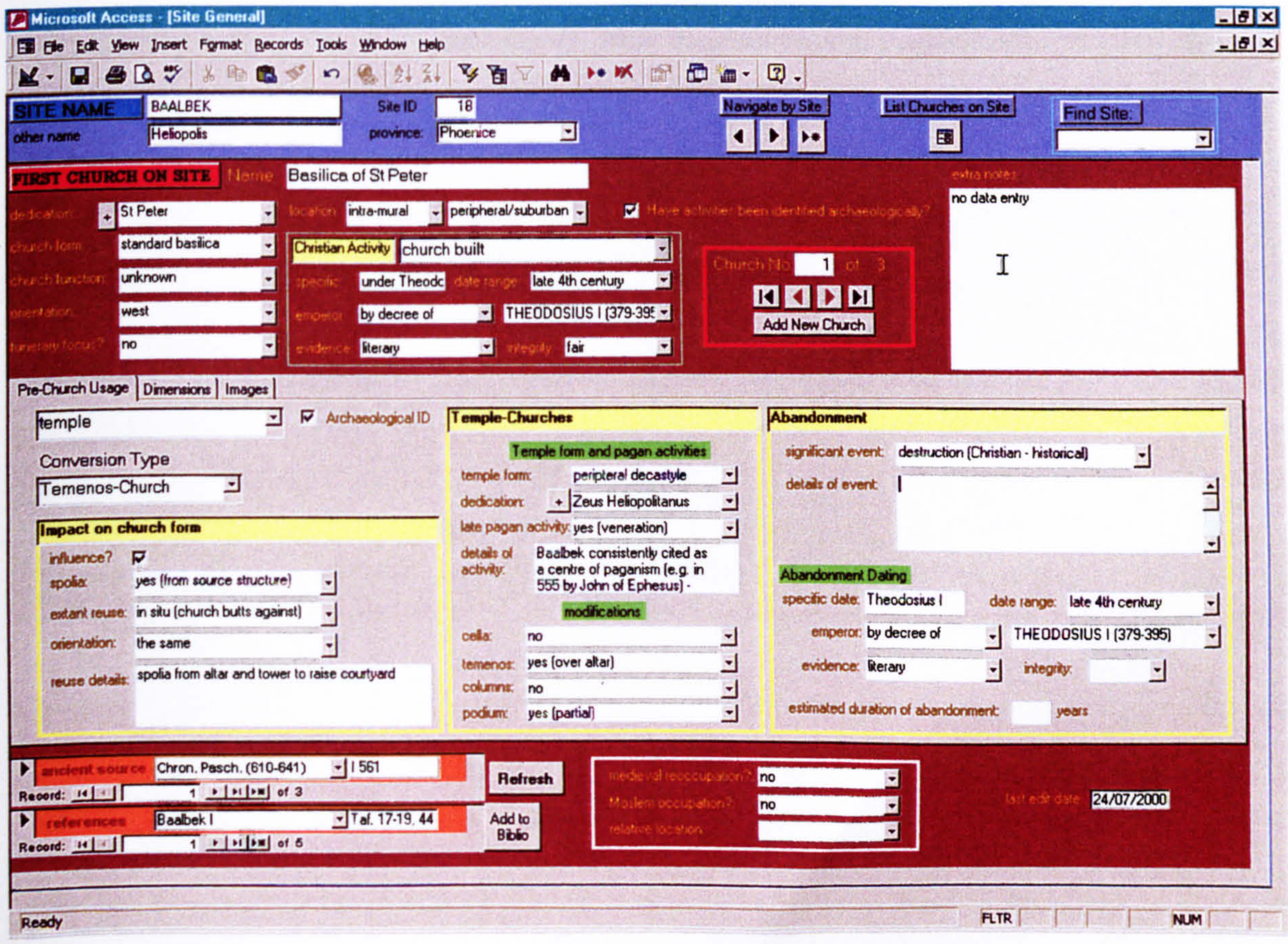
Topographical	church name, general location (intra/extra-mural), specific location
Church Specific	dedication, form, orientation, function, funerary foci, archaeological identification
Pre-exiting Structure	type, archaeological identification, influence on church form, origin of *spolia*, nature of extant reuse, re-orientation
Temple Conversion Specific	temple form, dedication, late pagan activity, survival of cella/temenos/columns/podium, abandonment event (e.g. deconsecration/destruction)
Chronology	church date, abandonment event date, dating evidence, dating integrity
Medieval	later medieval/Moslem modifications
Bibliography	primary/secondary sources

Relationships for Temple Conversion Database

15 March 2001



Data input is controlled for most fields by the use of lookup tables, e.g. for provinces, type of pre-existing structure, date ranges etc. These lookup tables are not shown on the relationships diagram above. The principal data entry form is illustrated below:



Extent and Limitations of Content

The overall content of the database must be considered as work-in-progress. It was beyond the scope of this thesis to record every known instance of temple conversion, although I hope that I have been successful in tracking down the majority of recorded examples. The database structure also allows the inclusion of churches built from secular structures, a number of which have also been included. The emphasis of my research has been on the Eastern Mediterranean and in particular, on Asia Minor. This is undoubtedly reflected in a weighted emphasis on sites in this region, with other areas – particularly in the West – therefore being less well represented.

Database Reports

The following reports from the database are included in this appendix:

1. Dates of Temple Destruction and Deconsecration: ordered by type of event and includes details of subjective dating integrity.
2. Dates of Temple Conversion: ordered by site and includes details of subjective dating integrity.

Sites for which no acknowledged date has been provided are omitted.

Report 1: Dates of Temple Deconsecration and Destruction

Site Name	Church Name	Date	Evidence	Integrity
deconsecration				
ATHENAE	Parthenon	taq 485	literary	fair
PHILAE	Church of St Etienne	tpq 535-7	literary	fair
ROME	S. Stefano Rotondo	late 4th c	no data entry	fair
SELEUCIA	Hieron of Kanetis Athena	early 5th c	literary	uncertain
	Temple of Aphrodite	mid 5th c	literary	uncertain
	Zeus temple-church	5th c	literary	fair
deconsecration (idols removed)				
ALEXANDRIA	Michael Church - Caesareum	313-328?	literary	uncertain
	Mithraeum	abandoned before decree of ConstII	literary	fair
	Temple of Dionysus	before 389	literary	fair
CARRAWBURGH	Mithraeum	early-mid 4th century	stratigraphic	fair
CONSTANTINOPLE	Church of St Menas	under Constantine I	literary	no data entry
HOUSESTEADS	Mithraeum	4th century	no data entry	no data entry
PLEUIT	Temple Destruction	early 5th c	literary	fair
deconsecration (inscribed crosses)				
SARDIS	Church M	3rd c. (Foss)	no data entry	no data entry
destruction (Christian - archaeological)				
ANTIOCHEIA PISIDIAE	Sanctuary of Men Askaênos	by 5th c	speculation	fair
CORINTH	Asklepeion	late 4th c	speculation	uncertain
CYRENE	Temple of Zeus	late 4th c	stratigraphic	fair
GERASA	Cathedral	after 378	numismatic	secure
PALMYRA	Temple of Allat-Athena	after 376	numismatic	secure
destruction (Christian - historical)				
AIGEAI	Asklepeion	under Constantine	literary	secure
ALEXANDRIA	Temple of Serapis	c. 391	literary	secure
ANTIOCH	Basilica of Rufinus	under Constantine	literary	uncertain
APAMEA	Temple of Zeus	386	literary	fair
APHAKA	Temple of Aphrodite	under Constantine I	literary	no data entry
ARETHUSA	temple-church	under Constantius II	literary	no data entry

Site Name	Church Name	Date	Evidence	Integrity
destruction (Christian - historical) - *continued*				
BAALBEK	Basilica of St Peter	Theodosius I	literary	no data entry
	Temple of Aphrodite	by decree of Constantine	literary	fair
BEROIA	Temple of Asklepios	late 4th c	no data entry	no data entry
CAESAREA	Temple of Apollo	before 360s	literary	uncertain
	Temple of Fortune	361-363	literary	uncertain
	Temple of Jupiter	before 360s	literary	uncertain
CONSTANTINOPLE	Church of St Thecla	by decree of Constantine	literary	no data entry
	Church of St Mokios	early 4th c	literary	uncertain
CORFU	Nostra Signora di Paleopoli	5th-6th c	epigraphy	fair
DAPHNE	Shrine of Apollo	22 October 362	literary	no data entry
EDESSA	The Great Temple	382-391	literary	fair
GAZA	Eudoxia church in the Marneion	24 May 403	literary	secure
JERUSALEM	Holy Sepulchre	326-336	literary	fair
destruction (for building material)				
ISTHMIA	Temple of Poseidon	4th-6th c	no data entry	no data entry
destruction (of unknown origin)				
AEZANI	Temple of Artemis	before 400	numismatic	fair
ARYCANDA	Temple-Church	4th-5th c	speculation	fair
ATHENAE	Temple of Apollo Delphinos	mid 3rd c	no data entry	no data entry
CORINTH	Acrocorinth: Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore	late 4th c	no data entry	no data entry
EPHESUS	Temple of Artemis	before 435	literary	uncertain
	Prytaneum	c 400 AD	speculation	fair
QAL'AT KALÔTÂ	The sanctuary of Zeus Seimos, Symbétylos and "Lion"	unknown	speculation	fair
ZORAVA	Church of St George	before 515	epigraphic	secure
earthquake				
CYRENE	Temple of Apollo	c. 365	literary	uncertain
EPHESUS	Temple of Serapis	4th c	stratigraphic	fair
GERASA	Temple of Zeus	before triple-churches were built (<529)	no data entry	no data entry
KENCHREAI	Church and Temple of Isis	end 4th c	no data entry	fair
fire				
ARGOS	Temple of Aphrodite	late 4th c	stratigraphic	secure
EPHESUS	Church of the Virgin Mary/Olympeion	mid 3rd century	no data entry	no data entry
CYRENE	Temple of ?Serapis	unknown	speculation	uncertain

Report 2: Temple Conversion Dates

Site Name	Church Name	Date	Evidence	Integrity
ABILA	Tell Abila ?temple-church	6th c	no data entry	unknown
AGRIGENTUM	Temple of Athena/St Maria	medieval	no data entry	no data entry
	"Temple of Concord"	c. 596	literary	secure
	Temple of Demeter/Norman Church	Norman Period	no data entry	no data entry
ALEXANDRIA	Michael Church - Caesareum	313-328?	literary	uncertain
	Temple of Dionysus	before 389	literary	uncertain
	Temple of Serapis	c. 391	literary	fair
AMATHUS	Aphrodite temple-church	prob. beginning of 7th c.	speculation	unknown
ANCYRA	Temple of Augustus & Rome	5th century	stylistic	fair
ANTIOCH	Basilica of Rufinus	under Constantine	literary	uncertain
ANTIOCHEIA PISIDIAE	Sanctuary of Men Askaênos	late 4th-5th c	stylistic	fair
APHAKA	Temple of Aphrodite	later	no data entry	no data entry
APHRODISIAS	Church of St Michael	tpq Leo I	numismatic	secure
ARETHUSA	temple-church	early 4th c	literary	no data entry
ARYCANDA	Temple-Church	late 4th - 5th c	stylistic	fair
ASSOS	Christian martyrium & basilica	by late 4th c	no data entry	no data entry
ATHENAE	Artemis Agrotera	?mid 5th c	speculation	uncertain
	Asklepeion	5th-6th c	literary	fair
	Parthenon	between 431 & 595	epigraphic	fair
	Temple of Kronos and Rhea	prob. 6th c	stylistic	fair
	Hephaisteion	6th-7th c	no data entry	no data entry
	Erectheion	end 6th - early 7th c	stylistic	fair
AUGILA	Sanctuary of Ammon and Alexander the Great	mid 6th	literary	fair
BAALBEK	Temple of Aphrodite	by decree of Constantine	literary	fair
	Basilica of St Peter	under Theodosius I	literary	fair
BABISKA	East Church/Marcianus Basilica	407/8	epigraphic	secure
BÊTÎN	Precinct Church	probably 6th century	stylistic	uncertain
BUSR EL-HARIRI	poss. Temple-Church	517/8	epigraphic	secure
BZIZA	no data entry	6th c	no data entry	unknown
CAESAREA MARITIMA	Octagonal Martyrium	480-500	numismatic	secure
CALCHEDON	Church of St Michael	early 4th c	literary	no data entry
CARTHAGO	Sanctuary of Caelestris	around 399	literary	uncertain

Site Name	Church Name	Date	Evidence	Integrity
COLOGNE	Cathedral - "Temple of Mercury"?	4th-6th c	no data entry	no data entry
COMANA	Artemis Church	under Justinian	literary	fair
	Iphigeneia Church	under Justinian	no data entry	no data entry
CONSTANTINOPLE	Church of St Thecla	early 4th century	literary	no data entry
	Church of St Menas	mid 5th c	literary	fair
	Church of St Mokios	under Constantine	literary	uncertain
CORFU	Nostra Signora di Paleopoli	5th-6th c	epigraphic	fair
CORYCIAN CAVE	Clifftop Temple	late 5th c	stylistic	uncertain
CREMNA	Church B/Martyrium	5th-6thc	speculation	fair
	Church D	5th-6thc	speculation	fair
CUMAE	Temple of Jupiter	unknown - possibly late (Lombardian)	speculation	uncertain
CYANEAE	Church A	5th - early 6th c	stylistic	fair
CYRENE	Temple of ?Serapis	tpq Constantius II	numismatic	secure
CYZICUS	Church of Theotokos	late 5th c	no data entry	no data entry
DAĞ PAZARI	Domed Ambulatory Church	late 5th c	stylistic	fair
DAMASCUS	Church of St John the Baptist	under Theodosius I	literary	fair
DEIR EL-KALAA	Temple-Church	18th c	no data entry	no data entry
DEIR SMEDJ	temenos and hall	4th century	stylistic	uncertain
DENDERAH	Hathor temple-church	end 5th – beginning 6th c	no data entry	uncertain
DENDUR	temple-church	559	epigraphic	secure
DIOCAESARIA	temple-church	2nd half of 5th c	speculation	uncertain
DODONE	Temenos-Church	5th c	stylistic	fair
ELAUESSA -SEBASTE	temple-church	late 5th century	stylistic	fair
EMPORIO (CHIOS)	Basilica - adjacent to temple	mid-late 6th c	numismatic	fair
EPIPHANIA	Temple-Church	5th-6th c	speculation	fair
EPHESUS	Church of the Virgin Mary/Olympeion	after 474	numismatic	secure
ES-SEBU'A	temple-church	before 795	epigraphic	secure
GAZA	Eudoxia church in the Marneion	c. 408	literary	fair
GERASA	Cathedral	after 378	numismatic	secure
	Propylea Church	before 565	epigraphic	fair
HAMA	el Kebîr camii	c. 595?	epigraphic	uncertain
HERMOPOLIS	Temple of Ptolemy III	5th c	no data entry	no data entry

Site Name	Church Name	Date	Evidence	Integrity
JERUSALEM	Holy Sepulchre	326-335	literary	fair
KEFR NABO	temple-*spolia*-church	prob. mid 4th c.	stylistic	uncertain
KHIRBET-EDH DHARIH	temple-church	?6th	stylistic	uncertain
LEPTIS MAGNA	"Vetus Forum" basilica	?first half of 5th century	stylistic	uncertain
LETOON	Church	5th century	no data entry	no data entry
MAMBRE	Herodian precinct	under Constantine	literary	fair
MILETOS	Sanctuary of Dionysus/Church of St Michael	4th-6th c	speculation	fair
MISMIYEH	Praetorium	first half of 5th century	no data entry	uncertain
NOVARA	Church of Peter and Paul	before 500	literary	unknown
PACHINO	S. Lorenzo Vecchio	7th c	speculation	fair
PALEOPOLIS (ON CORFU)	Church replaces altars	5th - 6th c	epigraphic	fair
PALMYRA	Temple of Baalshamin	mid 6th c	stylistic	uncertain
PERGAMON	Red Hall – poss. temple	5th c	no data entry	no data entry
	Peristyle Building (?temple)	5th or 6th c	no data entry	uncertain
PHILAE	Church of St Etienne	535-7; under Bishop Theodore	epigraphic	secure
QAL'AT KALÔTÂ	The sanctuary of Zeus Seimos, Symbétylos and "Lion"	probably 5th century	speculation	fair
ROME	San Bartolomeo	10th c	no data entry	no data entry
	San Clemente	after 395	literary	no data entry
	SS. Cosmas & Damian	under Felix IV (526-30)	literary	secure
	S. Stefano Rotondo	under Pope Simplicius (468-483)	literary	secure
	San Lorenzo in Miranda	1050	no data entry	no data entry
	San Nicola in Carcere	11th c	no data entry	no data entry
	San Nicola in Cesarini (Calcarari)	1132	literary	secure
	Pantheon - St Mary and all the Martyrs	under Boniface IV (608-615)	literary	secure
	Temple of Venus & Rome - Oratory of Sts Peter & Paul	*by Paul (757-67)*	*no data entry*	*no data entry*
	Temple of Portunus	872	literary	secure
	Temple of Jupiter - S. Maria in Capitolio	by 8th c	no data entry	no data entry
	Temple of Mars Ultor - San Basileo	before 955	no data entry	no data entry
	Sant'Urbano alla Caffaella	9th-10th c	no data entry	no data entry
SAGALASSOS	Temple of Apollo Klarios	5th century	speculation	fair
	Basilica E1 (?Temple of Dionysus)	5th-early 6th c.	stylistic	fair
SARDIS	*Church M*	*mid 4th c (Butler)*	speculation	uncertain

Site Name	Church Name	Date	Evidence	Integrity
SELEUCIA	Zeus temple-church	2nd quarter of 5th c	literary	fair
	Hieron of Kanetis Athena	5th c	literary	uncertain
SIDE	Temple of Apollo	5th-6th c	no data entry	no data entry
	Temple of Athena	5th - 6th c	no data entry	no data entry
SRIR	The sanctuary of Zeus Tourbarachos	4th-7th c	speculation	fair
SUFETULA	Basilica III/Cathedral?	late 4th / early 5th c	stylistic	fair
SYRACUSAE	Athena temple - Cathedral	prob. 7th c	no data entry	no data entry
TARRACO	Temple of Rome and Augustus	by 7th c	no data entry	no data entry
TARRHA	Poss temple-church	5th-6th c	no data entry	no data entry
THURBURBO MAJUS	Temple of Ceres	late 4th/5th c	stylistic	fair
TIBERIAS	Joseph's Church	under Constantine	literary	uncertain
TOURON	Temple restoration and church	367-396	epigraphic	secure
TROEZEN	Church on Sanctuary of Aphrodite	12th c, rebuild of earlier conversion	no data entry	no data entry
UMM-EL-JIMAL	Julianos Church	late 5th - early 6th c	stratigraphic	fair
VARKIZA	Shrine	5th-6th c	speculation	fair
VERNEGUE	temple-church	probably late Medieval	no data entry	no data entry
VIENNA	temple-church	4th or 5th century	no data entry	no data entry
ZORAVA	Church of St George	Mar 22, 515	epigraphic	secure

PRIMARY SOURCE ABBREVIATIONS

Apostolic Constitutions	*Apostolic Teaching and Constitutions*, in Ante-Nicene Fathers VII, <http://www.ccel.org/fathers2/ANF-07/> (March 2001).
Ambrose, *Ep.*	Ambrose, *Epistles*, in Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Series II, Vol. 10, <http://www.ccel.org/fathers2/NPNF2-10/TOC.htm> (March 2001).
Amm. Marc.	*Ammianus Marcellinus,* Res Gestae, *tr. W. Heinemann. Loeb Classical Library, 1971-72.*
Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*	The Venerable Saint Bede, *Ecclesiastical history of the English nation*. Everyman's library (no. 479), 1978.
Cassiodorus, *Variae*	*The Variae of Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus.* Translated texts for historians, vol. 12, 1992.
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, ed. Th. Mommsen (Berlin, 1853-).
Cod. Theod./Const. Sirm.	*The Theodosian Law Codes and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions*, ed. C. Pharr (Princeton, 1952).
Cod. Just.	*The Digest of Justinian*, ed. A. Watson with Latin text ed. Th. Mommsen and P. Krüger, 4 vols (Philadelphia, 1985).
Chron. Pasch.	*Chronicon Paschale 284-628 AD*, eds M. Whitby and M. Whitby (Liverpool, 1989).
Egeria	Egeria, *Peregrinatio = Egeria's Travels*, ed. J. Wilkinson (London, 1971).
Eusebius, *Vita Const.*	Eusebius of Caesareia, *Vita Constantini*, in Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Series II, vol. 1, <http://www.ccel.org/fathers2/NPNF2-01/TOC.htm> (March 2001).
Eunapius, *Soph.*	Eunapius, *Vitae philosophorum et sophistarum*, ed. J. Giangrande (Rome, 1956).
Evagrius, *Eccl. Hist.*	Evagrius, *Ecclesiastical History* = 'Evagre, Histoire Ecclésiastique', A. J. Festugière (*Byzantion* 1975 (45/2), 187-488).
Greg. Naz. *Or.*	Gregory of Nazianzus, *Orations*. In Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Series II, Vol. VII, <http://www.ccel.org/fathers2/NPNF2-07/TOC.htm> (March 2001).
Hierocles	Hierocles, *Synekdemos = Le synekdemos d'Hierokles et L'opuscule geographique de Georges de Chypre*, ed. E. Honigmann (Brussels, 1939).
Jerome, *Ep.*	Jerome, *Epistles*, in Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Series II, Vol. VI, < http://www.ccel.org/fathers2/NPNF2-06/TOC.htm> (March 2001).
Jerome, *Vita Hilarionis*	Jerome, *Life of S. Hilarion*. See Jerome, *Ep.*
Julian, *Ep. / Misop. / Or.*	Julian, *Epistles / Misopogon / Orations*, tr. W.C. Wright. Loeb Classical Library, 3 Vols (London, 1913-1923).
John of Ephesus, *Hist. Eccl.*	John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. E. W. Brooks, *Lives of the Eastern saints*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1974).
Libanius, *Or./ Ep.*	Libanius, *Orations / Epistles*, tr. A.F. Norman. Loeb Classical Library, 2 vols (London, 1969-).
Malalas	John Malalas, *Chronographia = The Chronicle of John Malalas*, eds E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys and R. Scott (Melbourne, 1986).
Nov. Majorian / Nov. Theod.	See *Cod. Theod.*
Palladas, *Greek Anthology*	*The Greek Anthology*, ed. W. R. Paton. Loeb Classical Library, 1916.
Pausanias	Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, tr. W. Heinemann. Loeb Classical Library, 1918-35.
PG	*Patrologia Cursus Completus, Series Graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 161 vols (Paris, 1857-66)

Procopius, *De Aedif./ Persian Wars*	Procopius of Caesarea, *On Buildings / Persian Wars*, tr. H. B. Dewing. Loeb Classical Library, 1914-)
Quodvultdeus	Quodvultdeus, *Opera Quodvultdeo Carthaginensi Episcopo Tributa*, ed. R. Braun. Corpus Christianorum. Series latina, vol. 55 (Turnholti, 1976).
Rufinus, *Hist. Eccl.*	Rufinus, *Ecclesiastical History*, in Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Series II, Vol. 3, <http://www.ccel.org/fathers2/NPNF2-03/TOC.htm> (March 2001).
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, eds H. W. Pleket and R. S. Stroud (Alphen aan den Rijn, 1923-)
Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.*	Socrates Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastical History*, in Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Series II, Vol. 3, <http://www.ccel.org/fathers2/NPNF2-02/TOC.htm> (March 2001).
Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.*	As Socrates.
Sulp. Sev. *Vita./ Sacred History*	Sulpitius Severus, *Life of St. Martin / The Sacred History*, in Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Series II, Vol. 11, <http://www.ccel.org/fathers2/NPNF2-11/TOC.htm> (March 2001).
Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.*	Theodoret, *Ecclesiastical History*, in Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Series II, Vol. 3, <http://www.ccel.org/fathers2/NPNF2-03/TOC.htm> (March 2001).
Vita Porphyrii	Mark the Deacon, *Life of Porphyry, Bishop of Gaza*, ed. G. F. Hill (Oxford, 1913). <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/porphyry.html> (March 2001).
Vitruvius	Vitruvius Pollio, *Ten Books of Architecture*, (ed) I.D. Rowland (New York, 1999). <http://www.ukans.edu/history/index/europe/ancient_rome/E/Roman/Texts/Vitruvius/home.html> (March 2001).
Zachariah, *Vita Severi*	Zachariah of Mitylene, *Life of Severus*, tr. F.J. Hamilton and E. W. Brooks (New York, 1979).
Zosimus, *Nea Hist.*	Zosimus, *Nea Historia = New History*, ed. R. T. Ridley (Canberra, 1982).

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